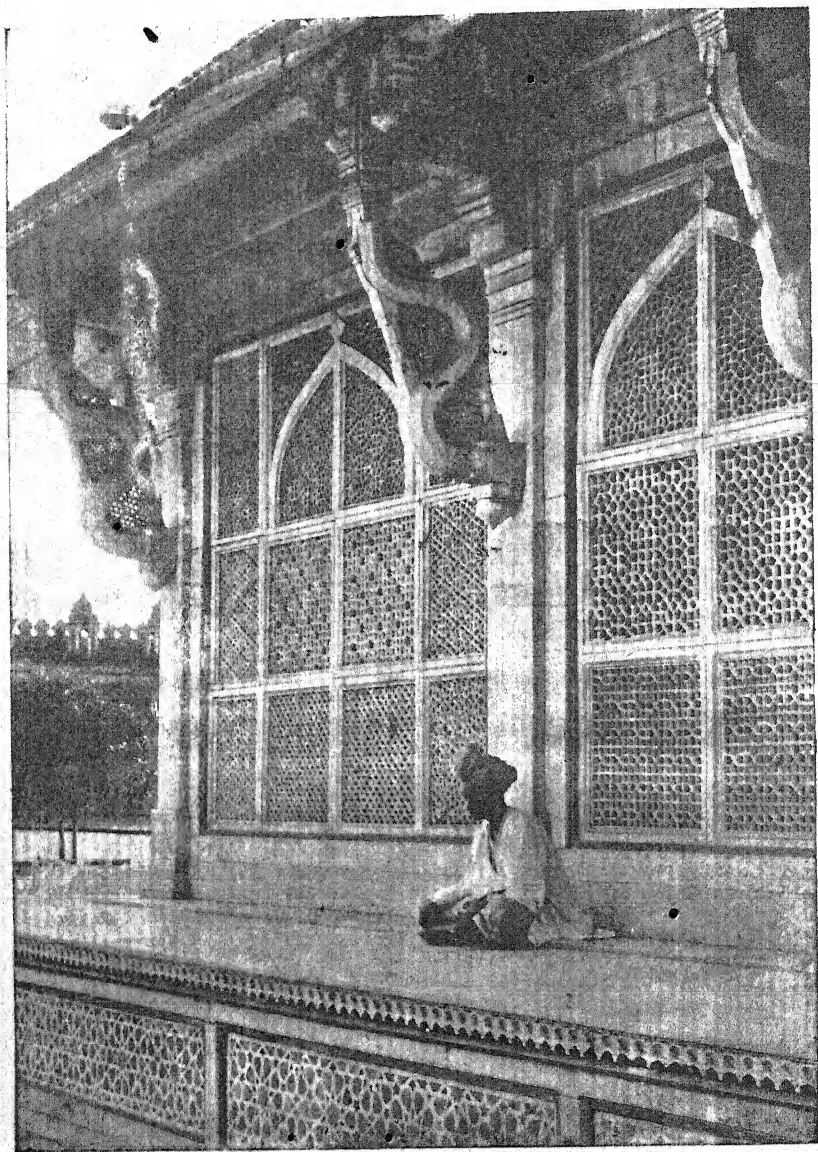


FRONTISPIECE



Tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti. Details of serpentine brackets and marble *jali* screens in the south-east corner of the east façade

A
GUIDE TO FATEHPUR SIKRI

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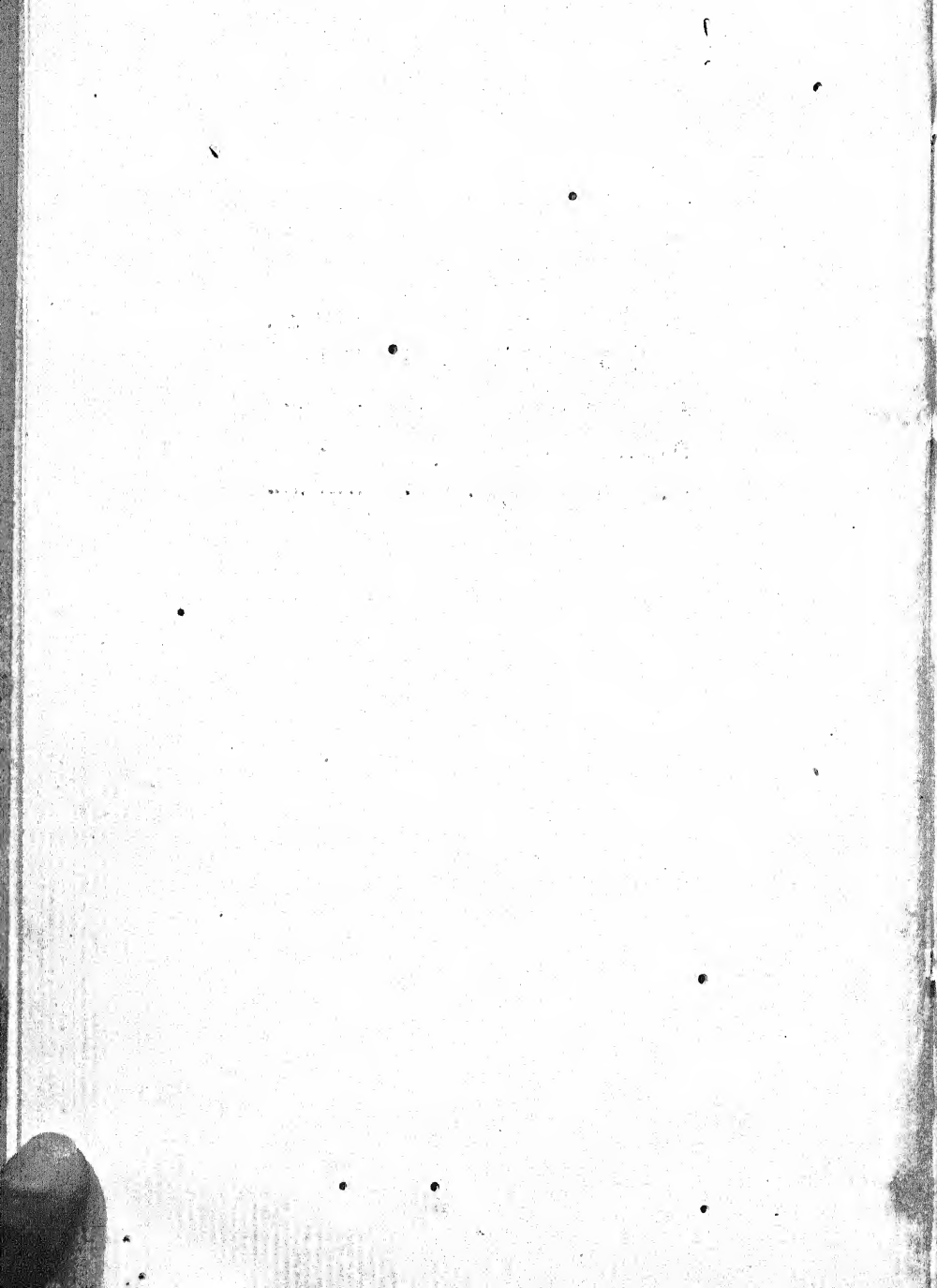
BY
MAULAVI MUHAMMAD ASHRAF HUSAIN

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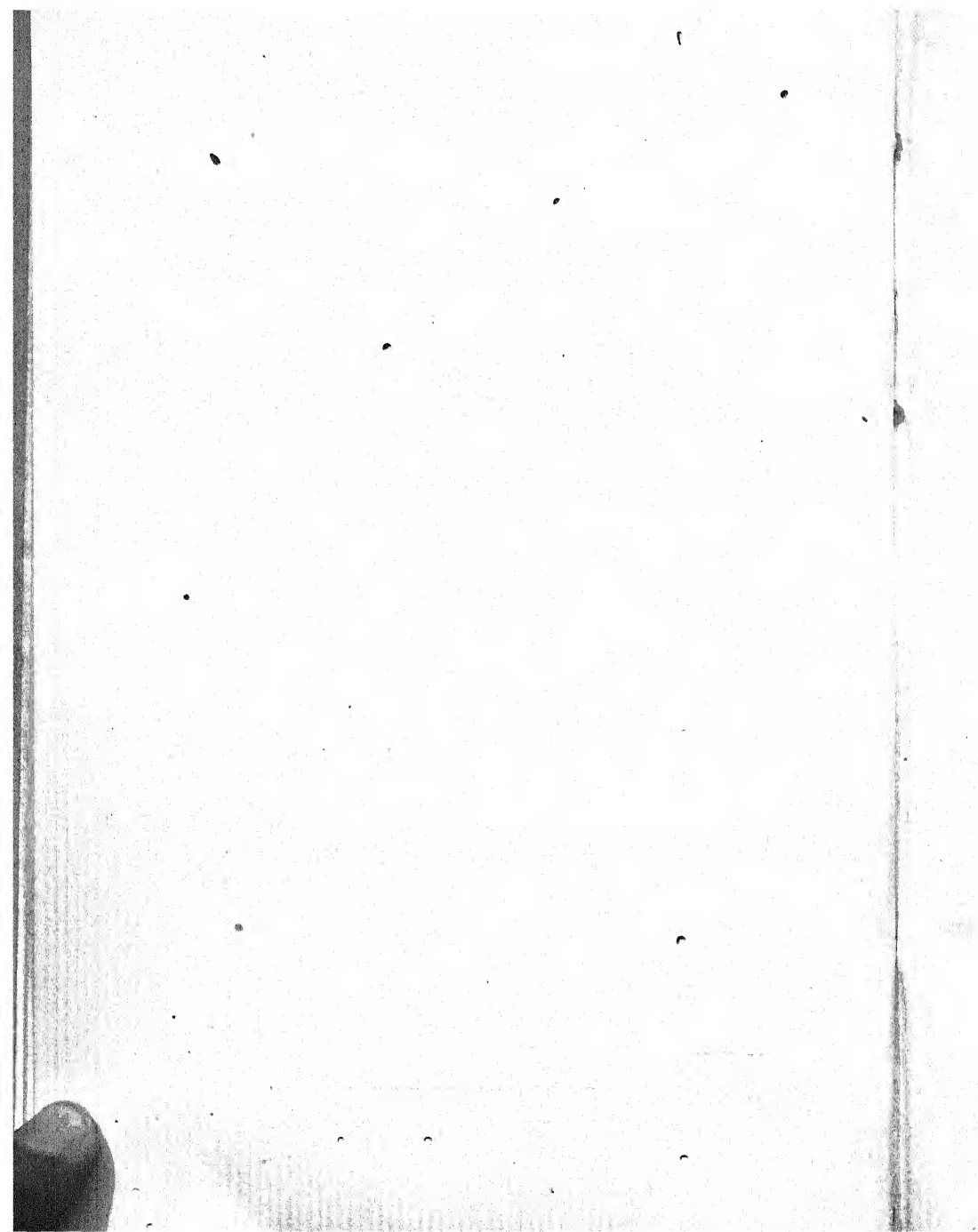
FOREWORD

The ancient monuments at Fatehpur Sikri are those about which least authentic information is available in the original records. Accounts gleaned from the memoirs and histories written in Persian like the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, *Akbar-Nāma*, etc., are not sufficient to satisfy all classes of visitors. Keene and Latif mention Fatehpur Sikri along with the description of other monuments in their *Hand-book to Agra* and *Agra, Historical and Descriptive* respectively. The same may be said with regard to V. Smith's *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Havell's *Ancient Indian Architecture* and Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture*. E. W. Smith's *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri* in four parts is too voluminous to serve as a guide. Hence the need for a short Guide to Fatehpur Sikri.

In this book an attempt has been made to present before the reader a faithful account of the buildings at Fatehpur Sikri; but how far I have succeeded in this aim it is for the reader to judge. The book lays no claim to finality, and any reasonable suggestion or correction will be considered.

I am indebted to the authors mentioned above whose works have been of great service to me.

MUHAMMAD ASHRAF HUSAIN



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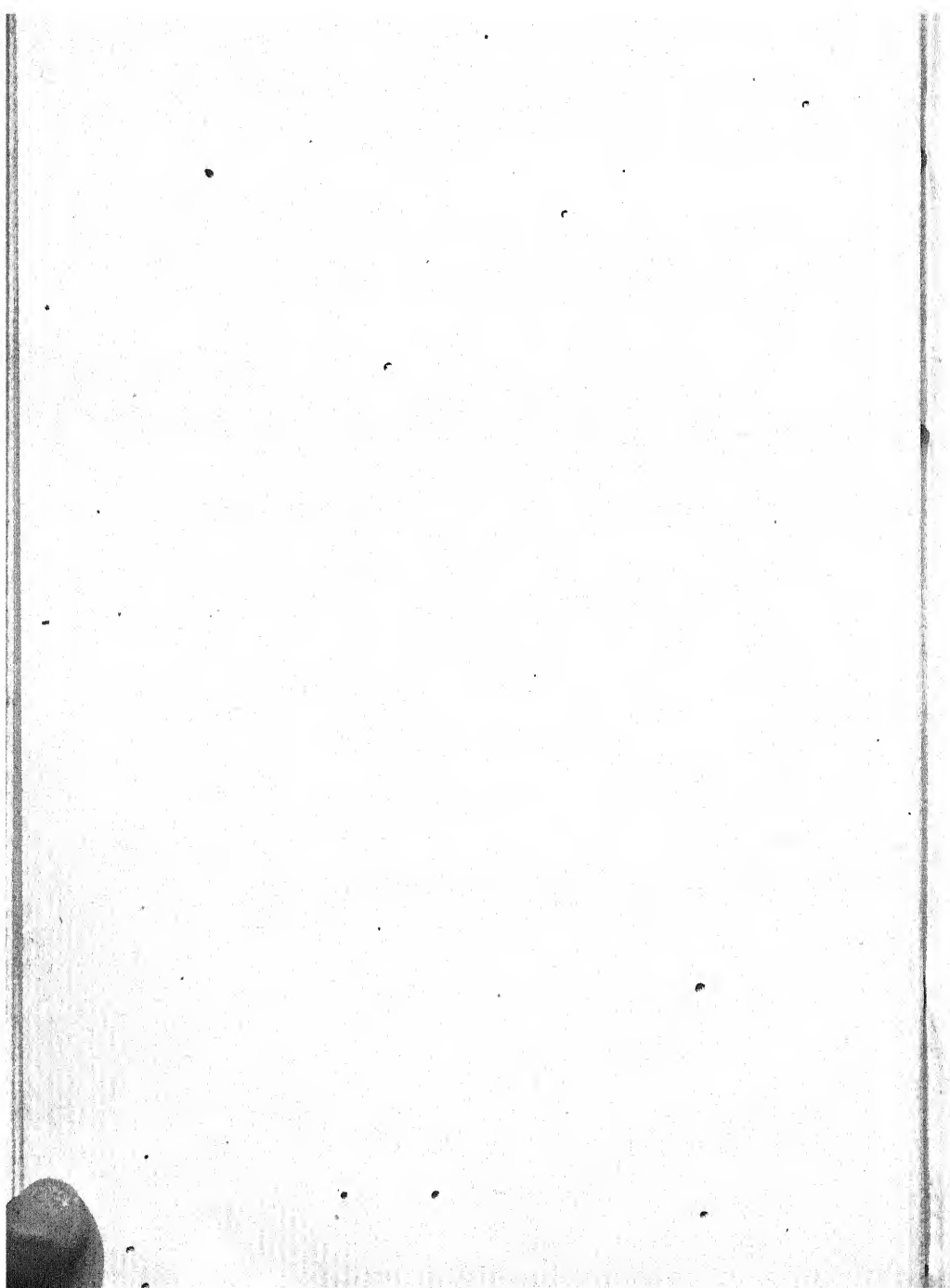
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A GUIDE TO FATEHPUR SIKRI

CHAPTER I •

TOPOGRAPHY AND ROUTE

Route to Fatehpur Sikri

The road to Fatehpur Sikri leaves the Drummond road at Agra opposite the Nāi-ki-Mandī by the Collector's office and the Baker Gardens, and goes westward along the Syed Ālay Nabī road, leaving on the left an old mosque of which the western wall with 3 small niches is all that is now extant. Over the niches is a large slab of red sand-stone bearing an inscription stating that the mosque was erected by one Hājī Sulaimān in the reign of Jahāngīr in the year 1031 A. H. (1621-22 A. D.). Further up to the left of the road is a large Muhammadan cemetery, known as the Panch Kūnyān, and in it is a domed structure, locally known as the Maghzi-khān-kā-Gumbad. The real name of the occupant of the tomb is not known to history but tradition avers that Ghāzī Khān, a nobleman at the court of Akbar, lies buried here and that Maghzi Khān is a corrupted form of the said noble's name several stories of whose quaint generosity are related. One of them says that a confectioner brought several kinds of valuable scents from Persia for the Emperor who for some reason or other would not purchase anything from him. The disappointed merchant called upon Ghāzī

Khān as well while he was personally supervising the construction of the tomb in question and told him what had happened to him against his expectations. The Khān gave him a patient hearing, and then purchasing the whole amount of perfumes in his stock he ordered the mason-in-charge to mix it with lime mortar used in the construction and told the merchant that he should no longer curse or speak ill of the Emperor for everything he had was in fact the Emperor's property.¹

Proceeding further the traveller passes through Shāhganj and comes to the village of Sachita where a severe battle was fought during the Mutiny between the British garrison at Agra and a party of rebels. On the left of the road between Shāhganj and Sachita may be observed the remains of the enclosure of the gardens of Samrū Begam or rather of those of her husband, Walter Reinhardt, who held a command in the time of Najaf Khān and died in Agra in 1778 A. D. Close by, there stood once the tomb of Jahāngīr's wife, Jodh Bāi, a princess of Jodhpur, who died in the 14th year of Jahāngīr's reign.² She was buried there in a masonry tomb erected by her son, the Emperor Shāh-jahān, but it has now totally disappeared. The Dahra Garden nearby has met with the same fate. In this

¹ Keene (*Handbook to Agra*, pp. 93 and 221-22) and others think that it is the tomb of Mirzā Hindāl, a son of Bābur and father of Akbar's chief queen Sultāna Ruqayya Begam. The assumption is evidently erroneous for Hindāl lost his life in a night attack near Khaibar in 958 A. H. (1551 A.D.) and Jahāngīr mentions his burial at Kabul close to the tomb of Emperor Bābur, *vide Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text, p. 53; Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 234.

² *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text, p. 268.

flourishing garden Jahāngīr often encamped when he went ahunting in the suburbs of Agra and it was here that the news of the death of Salima Sultān Begam, a wife of Akbar, was delivered to him.¹

The traveller is now pursuing a route identical in most parts with the old imperial road. It was originally studded on both sides with gardens, bazars, mosques and halting places; but save a few *Kos Mīnārs*, bridges and a mosque they have all disappeared.

Midhakur

About 12 miles from Agra is a village called Midhakur, or Mindhakur as in original histories. It is said that one day while hunting in the neighbourhood of the village, Akbar happened to pass by an assemblage of men singing praises of the famous saint Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishtī of Ajmer. Being naturally fond of music, he stopped to listen to the songs and when the singers had done, he made up his mind to visit Ajmer and issued orders to make preparations for the same. This was the beginning of his belief in saints.²

Salima Sultān Begam had a garden at Midhakur and was buried there after her death in 1613 A. D.³

¹ Salima Sultān Begam was the daughter of Bābur's daughter Gulrukh Begam. She was married to Bairam Khān on whose murder Akbar married her in 968 A. H. (1561 A. D.). She died at the age of 60 or according to some 76, in 1021 A. H. (1613 A. D.), vide *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text, p. 113; Beveridge's *Hamāyūn Nāmā*, pp. 276-79.

² Akbar struck *Mohars* which were called Mu'īnī after the saint. The words 'Yā Mu'īn' were inscribed on them, vide *British Museum Catalogue*, Mughal Emperors, LXXIII.

³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text, p. 113.

No traces, however, either of a garden or of a building are visible now, and a small mosque and a stone tower are the only relics to be seen. The mosque is just by the side of the road and a Persian inscription on its pillars tells us that, after the conquest of the Deccan in 1010 A. H. (1602 A. D.) the King Emperor despatched Muḥammad M'aṣūm Nāmī, the well-known calligraphist and engraver of inscriptions of Akbar's time, to Iraq and Khorasan.*

Kiraoli

At Kiraoli, about 15 miles from Agra, splendid palaces surrounded by extensive gardens were erected for Akbar's mother, Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, entitled Maryam Makānī. The whole group was named *Bustān Sarāi*. It was generally in these gardens and palaces that Akbar and Shāhjahān used to put up when touring in this part of the country. The compound walls of the garden have disappeared and the buildings have been changed into the Tahsildar's office and residence and very much altered.

Walls and gates

After the 21st milestone, the high battlemented walls of the town become visible. They are of rubble masonry and some 6 miles in circumference enclosing the town on three sides, the fourth being protected by

* Perhaps he took a letter from Emperor (Akbar) to the king of Persia. The inscription was engraved by Nāmī himself.

a large lake now dry. The walls which are about 11' thick at the top including the ramparts and about 32' high from the present level of the Agra road, are pierced by 9 gates, viz., the Delhi gate, the Lāl gate, the Agra gate, the Bīrpol, the Chandrapol, the Gwalior gate, the Tehrā gate, the Chor gate, and the Ajmer gate. Generally speaking, all the 9 gates are more or less similar in design. Each gate is protected by massive semi-circular bastions loop-holed on the top and much wider at the base than at the summit. Guard-rooms are provided for sentinels and for soldiers on both sides of the domed chamber in front of the archway. Over the arches and below the battlements are effective hooded machicolations carried on corbels through which the defenders could pour stones, boiling oil, pitch, etc., upon the escalading enemies. In the gates, however, they do not appear to have been meant for these purposes as they are not very strong. The walls have fallen in many places, but every attempt has been made to preserve them and a piece, about 600' in length, has been carefully restored on the two sides of the Agra gate through which the visitor enters the town. An amusing, though fictitious, anecdote is related about this gate. It is said that the Emperor attended by some courtiers was overlooking the ramparts and, to his great surprise, he saw a highway robbery being committed immediately beneath the walls. Turning round to the nobles at his side he enquired how so much violence could have been permitted to take place directly under the walls of his capital, particularly at a time when he was himself present. One of the nobles who was presumably responsible for the peace

of the city fearing the Emperor's displeasure and knowing well how jovial the Emperor was, cleverly replied that it was "always darkest under the lamp" and thus escaped punishment.

Inside the Agra gate, to the right, are the remains of a large court surrounded by ruined cloisters which probably formed part of the barracks for troops.

Opposite the ruins of the barracks is the 22nd milestone from Agra and at the parting of the roads the minarets and domes of the deserted palaces, crowned by the lofty top of the Baland Darwāza, become visible in the distance. One of the roads (that on the left) leads through the modern town to the Tehrā Gate, some 2 miles off, and the other, steeper but much more direct, straight into the heart of the palaces. The visitor is recommended to take the latter road if he does not care to stop at the Dak Bungalow, about a furlong to the right, where good accommodation can be had at reasonable charges. The ruins of what probably formed the old *bazar* flank this road of which the original stone paving still lurks beneath the modern metalled surface. On the ridge, to the right of the road, were a few buildings of some importance said to have originally belonged to the famous 'Abdu-r-Rahīm *Khān-i-khānān*, a *hafthazārī mamābādār* of the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngir. They are mostly in ruins now, but the best preserved is a plain *Bārādārī* built of red sandstone and surrounded by a spacious verandah with lean-to-roofs. Near the building are baths or perhaps cool underground chambers (*tahkhānas*) where people could rest secure from the scorching winds of summer. The road again divides here, the

one to the right hand leading to the Archæological Dak Bungalow and the other to the left going beneath the Naubat Khāna gateway into the heart of the ruins.

Before proceeding further with a description of the interesting buildings at Fatehpur Śikri (Plate XI) it would seem desirable to give in a few words the history of the town itself.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

The history of Fatehpur Sikri is traceable at least as far back as the invasion of Bābur in 1526 A. D. It is recorded that at Khānwah close by a decisive battle was fought between Bābur and Rānā Sāngā in 1527 A. D. when, according to Akbar's court historian, Abu-l-Fazl, the former changed its name to Shukrī (Thanksgiving) to commemorate his thanksoffering to God for the hard-won victory over his enemy.

The town owes its selection as the Imperial headquarters to the circumstance that attended the birth of Prince Salīm, afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr. Akbar was in his 28th year; several children were born to him but all had died. Desirous of having an heir to the throne he had had recourse to the saints, dead and living alike, and solicited their blessings. One day Shaikh Muḥammad Bukhārī and Ḥakīm 'Ainu-l-Mulk praised the saintly qualities of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī who passed a hermit's life in a cave near Sikri. Akbar visited the saint who foretold him that three sons would be born to him, at which Akbar promised to offer the first born to the saint. Shortly after this visit the Emperor came to know that the daughter of Rāja Bihārāmal, a Kachwāha Rājput, whose family had been one of the first adherents of Akbar, was pregnant. The king took the princess to the saint's house and near it erected for her a magnificent

house, now known as the Rang Maḥal, where a few months later (in 1569 A. D.) she gave birth to a son who was named Salīm after the saint. Next year another prince (Murād) was born there and the King considering the place auspicious made it the capital of his empire. In a short time the place was full of magnificent buildings, both public and private, beautiful baths and delightful gardens and its name was changed from Sikrī to Fathpūr (City of victory) after the conquest of Gujrāt in 1572 A. D.¹

Abu-l-Faẓl, in his famous work entitled the *Āin-i-Akbarī*,² sheds some light on Fatehpur Sikri of Akbar's time and mentions some of the buildings, etc., set up by that Emperor, and it will probably be interesting to quote him here. "Fatehpur," says the historian, "was a village, formerly one of the dependencies of Biana and then called Sikri, situated twelve *kos* distant from Agra. After the accession of His Majesty, it rose to be a city of the first importance. A masonry fort was erected and two elephants carved in stone at its gate inspire astonishment. Several noble buildings also rose to completion and although the royal palace and the residences of many of the nobility are upon the summit of the hill, the plains likewise are studded with numerous mansions and gardens. By the command of His Majesty a mosque, a college and a religious house (مدرسة) were also built upon the hill, the like of which few travellers can name. In

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, Persian text (Aligarh edition), p. 1.

² *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Persian text, Vol. II, pp. 441-42. Cf. also Jarret's English translation of the above (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1891), pp. 180-81.

the neighbourhood is a big tank (بزرگ کولاب است), twelve *kuroh* in circumference and on its embankment His Majesty constructed a spacious courtyard, a *mīnār*, and a place for the game of *Chaugān* (or polo); there elephant fights were also exhibited. In the vicinity is a quarry of red stone whence columns and slabs of any dimensions can be excavated. In these two cities (i.e. Agra and Fatehpur Sikri) under His Majesty's patronage carpets and fine stuffs are woven and numerous handicraftsmen have full occupation."

From here he started on his campaigns and it was from here that most of the laws and regulations that have made Akbar so famous in the world were issued. But its glory was shortlived for about the year 1586 or, to be more accurate, about the end of the 16th century when Akbar returned to Agra from Lahore, the place was abandoned on account of its inferior water, unhealthy climate and certain political reasons. This change of capital told heavily on the grandeur of Fatehpur which suffered more when Akbar's son and successor, Jahāngīr, also found it out-of-the way and began to hold his court at Agra or Lahore. It was not, however, altogether abandoned or neglected as is generally supposed, for we read of his successors, *Shāhjahān* and others, visiting the place and offering prayers in the *Jāmi' Masjid*, and, according to the *Siyar-ul-Muta-akhhirīn*,¹ it was here that the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was crowned in 1132 A. H. (1720 A. D.).

The remains yet extant speak amply of the former glory of this noble city, and a great deal has been done

¹ Persian text (Nawal Kishor edition, 1897), Part II, p. 422.

by Government in the way of repairing them, thus saving many others from immediate danger of falling into ruins.

The most interesting of the existing buildings are the Jāmi' Masjid regarded as one of the most magnificent mosques in India ; the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishtī in the courtyard of the Mosque ; the Diwān-i-Khās with Akbar's pillar throne ; the Khwābgāh with the Darshan Jharoka where Akbar is said to have showed his face every morning to his subjects assembled below ; a peristylar building called his office (Daftar Khāna) ; the beautiful pavilion known as the Turkish Sultāna's House ; the Maryam-kī-Kothī ; the Bīrbal's House ; the Jodh Bāī's Palace ; the Hiran Minār (Deer Tower) or Haram Mīnār ; and the Panch Maḥal.

Under the British rule, as late as 1850, there was a Tahsil here, but on account of the unhealthy climate of this place it was removed to Kiraoli, 15 miles from Agra. During the Mutiny of 1857, two or three engagements were fought in the vicinity of the palaces.

CHAPTER III

THE MONUMENTS

NAUBAT Khāna (Music House)

The triple archway, about 50 yards to east of the Dak Bungalow, is called the Naubat Khāna, or the Music House. The court in front, enclosed by low suites of dilapidated rooms and a large gateway on each side, is said to have made up the Chāndnī Chauk of the Jauharī (or Jewellers') Bazār. Over the Naubat Khāna runs a gallery facing the Palace Area along the whole length of which is provided a stone seat from which the court musicians played to announce the arrival or departure of the king and various other state functions.

ṬAKSĀL (Mint)

The large building behind the Dak Bungalow is traditionally known as the Imperial Mint. Within is a vast quadrangle, about 263 feet by 238 feet, surrounded by a double row of arcades covered with vaulted domes made of Shāhjahān's bricks in lime. Though generally called the Mint, the building was beyond doubt a stable, the passages between the aisles being meant for the grooms to pass from one side to the other. The remains of series of mangers for horses in the north and west sides of the open quadrangle also prove that it was a stable, although it is possible that

the building might have been used as a mint sometime during the time of Akbar and his son and successor Jahāngīr. About the middle of the court is a small platform in the centre of which is a small tank. It was excavated in 1905 and yielded a large quantity of ashes.

Abu-l-Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, mentions the opening of a mint at Fatehpur Sikri in 985 A. H. (1577-78 A. D.) with Khwāja 'Abdu-s-Ṣamad as its Superintendent, and rare specimens of gold, silver and copper coins bearing the mint name of *Dāru-s-Surūr Fatehpūr* are still available. The *Chār Yārī*, or square rupee, with the names of the four orthodox Caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī, round the *Ka'ima* or the Muslim creed, and in fact all new types of coins were first struck in the Fatehpur Mint.

KHAZĀNA (Treasury)

Immediately to south of the Mint is a ruined building, traditionally known as the Treasury, but its close proximity to the stables suggests that it was probably the residential house, *viz.*, quarters of the *Dārogha* (Superintendent) of the Imperial stables. It is constructed in the usual style of a residential house comprising an open court in the middle surrounded by a verandah with rooms at the back. The walls are faced as usual with red sandstone; inner walls are ornamented with coloured patterns and where that is not the case the surfaces are plastered and ornamented with coloured designs. The peculiar construction of the roofs of the western rooms may be studied with interest.

DĪWĀN-I-ĀM (Hall of Public Audience)

Passing on a little further up the road the visitor will come to a narrow gateway leading into the Dīwān-i-Ām, or Public Audience Hall, consisting of an extensive quadrangle enclosed by cloisters the floor of which was originally paved with stone slabs. In the middle of the west side of the open court is the Judgment Hall or Dīwān-i-Ām proper. In the verandah, in front of the hall, the Emperor's throne was placed between the beautiful pierced stone screens. Here Akbar used to take his seat every day within sight of his subjects assembled in the court below. The verandahs on either side were probably occupied by the bulk of his courtiers and grandees. The walls of the hall are cut up by deep recesses and like the ceilings they appear to have originally been coloured.

The large stone ring in the court is sometimes stated to have been used for tying a mad elephant that trampled under his feet criminals sentenced to capital punishment. But it is highly improbable that such horrible scenes were ever allowed to take place in the presence of the Emperor Akbar, who was well known for his merciful nature, and particularly before the tender-hearted ladies of the *haram* who viewed the Dīwān-i-Ām ceremonials from the screened chamber above.

DĪWĀN-I-KHĀS (Hall of Private Audience)

The Dīwān-i-Khās, or Hall of Private Audience, is a very fine example of the dignified style of the period. A door in the north-west wing of the cloisters of the

Diwān-i-Ām leads to a building, which on the outside would appear to be two-storied, though really consisting of a single vaulted chamber, 28' square, open from floor to roof which affords a fine view of the ancient buildings (Plate I). Rising from the centre of the tessellated floor is a richly carved pillar supporting a colossal flower-shaped bracketed capital. Four narrow passages enclosed on the sides by short screened balustrades radiate from the top of the capital to the corners of the building which are corbelled out after the manner of the large capital to support their ends. Tradition asserts that the circular space over the capital was occupied by Akbar's throne while the corners were assigned to four of his ministers (Plate I).

The pillar is decidedly Indian in design but the carving upon the shaft and pedestal is Saracenic in character. It is extremely beautiful and unique and presents the character of the founder of Fatehpur Sikri more distinctly than any other historical record. There is nothing like it in the whole range of Indo-Moslem architecture.*

Steep staircases on the north-west and south-east corners lead to the roof, a balcony running round between the exterior and interior sides of the building on the same level as the passages radiating from the throne capital.

The exterior of the building is of excellent proportions. In the centre of each facade is a doorway, on each side of which are window-openings filled in

* A cast of the column is in the South Kensington Museum.

with perforated tracery. A gallery supported on stone brackets and enclosed by trellis work divides the facade into an upper and lower storey. Over each corner of the building is a small domed kiosk standing on four slender pillars.

'IBĀDAT-KHĀNA (House of worship)

The identification of the building, known as the 'Ibādat-Khāna, is a disputed question. Mr. Keene quotes a tradition suggesting the *Dīwān-i-Khās* but this is impossible. Al-Badāyūnī clearly mentions that the 'Ibādat-Khāna "consisting of four halls was built near the new *Khānqāh*", and again that "the very cell of *Shaiikh* 'Abdulla Nīāzī Sarhindī, a disciple of *Shaiikh* Islām Chishtī, was repaired, and spacious halls built on all the four sides of it, and the cell was named 'Ibādat-Khāna".¹ The Emperor ordered the four classes of religious men to take their seats in the four halls—the western to be used by the Saiyids or descendants of the Prophet; the southern by the learned men who had studied and acquired knowledge; the northern by those venerable for their wisdom and subject to inspiration; and the eastern was devoted to nobles and officers of state whose tastes were in unison with those of one or the other of the classes referred to above; while he himself visited these various parties from time to time and enjoyed their discussions with Abu-l-Fazl and Faizī by his side.

¹ *Muntakhab-i-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, pp. 198 and 201.

Sa'īd Ahmad, author of the *Āthār-i-Akbar*, points out a ruined building to the east of the houses of Abu-l-Faẓl and Faizī, a view not unfeasible, but some people question the propriety of his identification and call that ruined structure a *Qanāṭī Masjid*. That the 'Ibādat-Khāna was erected by Akbar during the years 982-83 A.H. (1574-76 A. D.) for holding religious, moral and philosophical discussions is evident from their descriptions given by Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badāyūnī and 'Allāmī Abu-l-Faẓl, but it seems to have shared the fate of so many other elegant buildings that have long since yielded to the ravages of times.

ĀNKH MICHAULĪ (Blind-man's-buff House)

A few paces to the west of the *Diwān-i-Khāṣ* is a building composed of three rooms, an oblong one in the centre and a square one at each end, the latter projecting at right angles to the central room. It is called the *Ānkh Michaulī*, or the Blind-man's-buff House, and the ignorant guides declare that Akbar used to play at "Hide and seek" with the ladies of the court in this building. Apart from the fact that it stands beyond the *zanāna* quarters and could never have been used for the purpose by the royal ladies, a busy Emperor of Akbar's mind and ideals had much more at hand to do than to build an imposing structure simply for playing at hide and seek. The worries and cares of an empire, the constant preparations for fresh campaigns, etc., left him little time for rest, not to speak of such childish games. It is more likely on the other hand, that being so close to the *Diwān-i-Khāṣ* this building was used as an office to store state

documents or regalia of the crown ; the narrow passage round each of the rooms being intended for the sentinels who used to guard it.

Beneath the deep recesses in the walls of the rooms are secret coffers which were originally covered with sliding slabs of stone. The flat roof of the central apartment is curiously constructed, being divided into panes by stone beams and supported on a series of struts, the lower ends of which are built into the walls and project from them to simulate brackets. The lower ends of the struts are carved each with the head of a trunked monster from whose open jaws issues forth a raised serpentine scroll terminating at the tops of the struts in a grotesque crocodile-like head. The ceiling panels are enriched with well-carved flower bosses in high relief. The ceiling of other rooms, concave at the sides and flat in the middle, are also divided into panels by flat ribs and carved with rosettes.

NISHASTGĀH-I-RAMMĀL (Astrologer's Seat)

The Nishastgāh-i-Rammāl (Astrologer's Seat) infringes on the south side of the Ānkh Michauli and stands on a square platform formerly enclosed by a stone railing. In design it is quite different from any building at Fatehpur Sikri and its curious struts similar to those to be seen in certain Jain buildings remind one of Jain structures of the 11th or 12th centuries.

Nothing is definitely known about its purpose, but tradition ascribes it to an astrologer attached to Akbar's court. There is no doubt that following the

Indian tradition the Mughal Emperors did nothing important without consulting the astrologers till the custom was set aside by Aurangzeb as awaking distrust of God. It is reasonable to think that the *chhatrī* was connected with the Ānkh Michaulī and it may have been the seat of the Emperor himself when he met the nobles, ministers, etc., in open air *darbārs* in the summer.

PACHCHĪSĪ COURT

To the south of the one-pillared building is a large open stone-paved court on which is a Pachchīsī (or Indian Backgammon) board in the form of a cross with a low red sandstone stool in the middle upon which, as is generally, though erroneously, believed, Akbar used to take his seat surrounded by a few chosen retainers whilst the game played with slave girls as living counters progressed. The red sandstone seat is evidently too crude to be assigned to a builder of Akbar's taste, but the Pachchīsī Court with the stone seat may well be the work of one of his successors, probably Muḥammad Shāh (also called Rangilā, or amorous, on account of his licentious way of living), who, according to the *Siyar-i-Mutaakkhkhirīn*,* was crowned at Fatehpur Sikri in 1132 A. H. (1720 A. D.). It was shut off from the Dīwān-i Khāṣ by a high wall no longer in existence.

KHĀṢ MAHAL (Private Palace)

The term "*Mahal-i-Khāṣ*" or "*Daulat-Khāna-i-Khāṣ*" is generally applied only to the Khwābgāh or

* Persian text (Nawal Kishor edition, 1897), Part II, p. 422.

Dormitory, both upper and lower (described *post*, pp. 26-29), but there are reasons to believe that the whole of the southern section of the great quadrangle immediately west of the *Dīwān-i-Ām* (described *ante*, p. 14) was occupied by the *Khās* Maḥal comprising the Girls' School, the Turkish Sultāna's House and *Ham-mām*, the *Khwābgāh* and the central tank or *Anūp Talāo*, and that the *Khās* Maḥal was connected with the *Panch* Maḥal and the ladies' apartments on the west by a private viaduct carried on arches and piers.

GIRLS' SCHOOL

On the west corner of the court is a low, unpretentious building raised above the level of the pavement on stone piers. It is traditionally known as the Girls' School and was connected by cloisters with the Turkish Sultāna's house on the east. The original purpose of the building is doubtful, but it is certain that the extensions on the north and east of the original two-storeyed building were made later when possibly the building happened to serve a different purpose.

TURKISH SULTĀNA'S HOUSE

The Turkish Sultāna's house is one of the most highly ornamented buildings in Fatehpur Sikri (Plate III). It consists of a single small chamber surrounded by a verandah. Additional rooms were obtained however by dividing up the verandah with stone screens since removed. In the words of Fergusson "It is one of the richest, the most beautiful and the most characteristic of all Akbar's buildings. It is

impossible to conceive anything so picturesque in outline or any building carved and ornamented to such an extent without the smallest approach to being overdone or in bad taste". The interior of this "gigantic jewel casket", as the house has been aptly called, is as richly carved as the exterior and hardly a square inch of space has been allowed to remain unornamented.

On the west side is a portico with square piers and octagonal shafts at the corners. Running along the top is a deep drip-stone beautifully carved on the underside. The carving on the ceiling of this portico was in a bolder style than that seen on the ceilings of the verandahs, but unfortunately it has all disappeared. At the north-west and south-east corners spacious verandahs were added at later times to connect the house with the Girls' School on the west and the Lower Khwābgāh on the south.

The room is provided with four entrances over which are deep recesses filled in with stone screens. The ceiling of the chamber is new but it is a reproduction of the old one which was taken down in 1901 on account of its decayed condition. The dado round the bottom of the room is particularly interesting. It is divided into eight panels richly decorated with conventional carvings.

On one panel is depicted a forest scene with pheasants perched amongst the boughs of the trees and lions stalking beneath them, but unfortunately both animals and birds have since been badly mutilated.

Another forest scene is carved upon the panel on the south end of the east wall. Among the branches

of a banyan tree in the centre are apes and birds looking down on a herd of quadrupeds with flowing tails, one of which is drinking from a pool supplied with water from a rock on the left of the panel. On the panels on the west wall orchards with trees and plants in full blossom are depicted. The feeling of the carving of the foliage is purely Persian.

The painting at the west end of the north wall represents a jungle. Some of the trees are in blossom and are conventionally treated. Small portions of the panels are unfinished, and this seems to illustrate a superstitious belief which to this day exists among Indian artizans that it is unlucky to finish a work completely.

On the north side of the house is an open space which once formed a garden. To the south-east of the house is a *Ḥammām*, or Turkish Bath, probably set apart for the use of the Emperor, and perhaps also for the occupant of the Turkish Sultāna's House. But who she really was is open to conjecture. Beyond tradition there is no authority for the statement that Akbar had a wife, known as the Turkish Sultāna, unless the title should be applied to his first wife, Sultāna Ruqayya Begam (daughter of Mirzā Hindāl, the Emperor's uncle), who was also a Tartar or a Turk like her husband. But it is doubtful whether the house was at all used by a royal lady; it might have been used by the Emperor himself.

TURKISH SULTĀNA'S ḤAMMĀM

There are very few buildings at Fatehpur Sikri without a *ḥammām* or bath. The bath belonging to

Turkish Sultāna's house is situated a few paces to the east, and, though externally grim and severe, it is evident that skill and taste have both been brought to bear upon the interior which, when fresh from the hands of the builders, must have presented a very pretty appearance. The outer rubble walls are unadorned by mouldings or decorations of any kind. There is only one entrance to the building and that too is perfectly plain. It leads into a domed vestibule with small chambers on the south and east and a large dressing room on the north. The eastern room contains a reservoir in the thickness of the wall at the north end and a passage on the north leads to an hexagonal chamber from which two doors open into two other chambers on the south and east. The baths were supplied with water from a small tank formed in the thickness of the wall fed from the outside from a trough supported on stone corbels. The pavement of the hexagonal chamber was of stone and covered the furnace, the flues for heating the baths being placed under the floors. The furnace appears to have been on the east side of the building near the gateway leading into the *Diwān-i-Ām*. Water was conducted from room to room by means of earthen pipes, glazed and unglazed, imbedded within the walls, to tanks or reservoirs in the corners of the rooms. Light was admitted through an *Oeil-de-boeuf* in the top of the domes the undersides of which were finished off in polished white stucco and ornamented with beautiful geometrical patterns in colour.

The most noteworthy features of the baths are the domes formed of radiating rings of brickwork and the

dados round the interior walls made of polished cement in different colours.

CENTRAL TANK

To the south-west of Turkish Sultānā's house and in the centre of the court of the Khāṣ Maḥal is a large tank, now erroneously called the CHAMAN, or Garden, measuring about 95 ft. 6 in. square, with steps leading down to the water. This is probably the *Anūp Talāo* so often mentioned by Badāyūnī in his history. Built in 983 A. H. (1575-76 A. D.),¹ or according to some in 1578 A. D., it was originally about 12' deep, but Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān founder of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, while he was Munsif at Fatehpur Sikri, caused it to be filled up to its present level and plastered the new floor with *chunam*. Excavations in the tank in 1903-04 disclosed the fact that the present floor of the tank was false.

Badāyūnī says² that in 986 A. H. (1578-79 A. D.) a *ḥakīm* visited Fatehpur Sikri and claimed that he could construct such a house in the water that one could plunge into the water and enter the house without the water penetrating it. Consequently a tank was constructed in the courtyard of the palace, 20 *gaz* square and 3 *gaz* deep, and in it a stone cell was built with a high tower on the roof and steps on all the four sides. The *ḥakīm's* pretentions, however, proved

¹ *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, p. 201.

² *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, pp. 264-65.

a lie and he fled away and was seen no more.¹ But the *Anūp Talāo*, or *Kapūr Talāo* as it is mentioned by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs, was filled with gold, silver and copper coins worth 34,48,46,000 *dāms* which were removed by the rich and poor alike under the orders of the Emperor.² It was in the Daulat-*Khāna-i-Anūp Talāo* that in 983 A. H. (1575-76 A. D.), according to 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badāyūnī, Mirzā Sulaimān, the semi-independent governor of Badakhshān, was entertained by Akbar who seated him by his side on the throne and introduced his son (probably Prince Salīm) to him.

In the centre of the tank is a platform crowned by a raised seat approached by four causeways supported on short pillars. The balustrade round the platform is modern. The tank, now dependent on the rains for its supply, was originally filled direct from the water-works near the Elephant Gate and kept clean by means of an overflow the outlet of which is on the north side and can be traced along the east side of the *Pachchisi* Court to the Tank at the back of the *Diwān-i-Khāṣ*.

To the south-east of the tank is a chamber with remains of floral paintings upon the walls. It is called the 'Painted Chamber' by Mr. Smith. Though the paintings are much decayed, the poppy, the tulip,

¹ Some 17 years later, in the 39th year of Akbar's reign, Ḥakīm 'Alī Gilānī did construct such a pond at Lahore and Mir Haider, the riddle-writer, found the date of its construction in the words حوض حکیم علی (The *hauz* of Ḥakīm 'Alī) 1002 A. H. (1593-94 A. D.).

We read of another water palace built in the reign of Jahāngīr by Ḥakīm 'Alī of Gilān whom the Emperor raised to the rank of 2,000 after he had visited the subaqueous chamber with a band of his courtiers (*Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, Persian text, p. 72).

² *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, Persian text, p. 260.

the rose and the China almond can be easily recognized amongst them. It is generally known as the Lower Bedroom of the Emperor and sometimes the more general name of Khās Mahal is also given to it. Outside the room, to the east, is placed a big **BROKEN BOWL** of stone which probably formed the reservoir of some fountain.

LOWER KHWĀBGĀH

Behind the Painted Chamber is another room, traditionally known as the residence of a Hindū priest attached to Akbar's court. Projecting from the south wall of it and raised about 7' above the ground is a platform upon which, it is said, he used to perform his devotions. The roof of the chamber is supported on square shafts some of them minutely carved after the pattern of the carvings in the Turkish Sultāna's house. In the south wall of the chamber is a doorway which leads into the courtyard outside at the other end of which is the Daftar-Khāna (or Record Office). The courtiers and officials entered by this door and passed along a broad passage formerly screened off from the quadrangle of the Khās Mahal to Akbar's Khwābgāh above.

Tradition seems at fault in ascribing the chamber with the platform to a Hindū priest. The probability is that the platform was used by the Emperor himself who showed his face every morning from the southern window, or *Darshan Jharoka*, to the people assembled in the court below. This is corroborated by the fact that it is in the same vertical line with the *Darshan Jharoka*

to the south-east of the Upper Khwābgāh. The Emperor, it is presumed, would occupy one of the two rooms according as the season changed (Plate IV).

UPPER KHWĀGĀH

A staircase to the south of the tank leads up to the Upper Khwābgāh, or "Sleeping Chamber", a small room, about 14' square, surrounded by a verandah covered by a roof wrought on the exterior in imitation of tiles. Judging of what remains of the colour decoration upon its walls, it must have been one of the most highly ornamented buildings in the city.

Originally the whole room was decorated from top to bottom with beautiful colour ornamentation containing couplets composed by Salmān Sāojī in praise of the room. Most of the decoration is decayed now, but a few paintings and inscriptions still remain. In each side of the room is a door with a window opening above closed on the outside by pierced screens. The sides of the windows were decorated with paintings. The recesses seen in the inner walls were originally filled in with stone lattices. The dado round the inside of the chamber is divided into panels enclosed by flat borders which continue up the angles of the room and around the doors and windows where Persian couplets eulogising the room and its royal occupants are inscribed. Some of the verses were restored together with other decoration works by the Archaeological Department in 1893-94.

At one time there was a painting in each panel of the wainscotting, but unfortunately portions of two

only are now to be seen. The one on the west wall represents a flat-roofed house with some person looking down upon us from it. The other on the north wall bears a boating scene and is somewhat better preserved. The drawing is much defaced but the faces of some of the persons in the boat, the mast, the rigging and the sails can be traced. The figures are carefully drawn and particular attention has been paid to the faces which have been so well finished that the work looks like that of a miniature painter. Traces of another boat appear on the right of the drawing.

Beside the window over the north door is a faint painting representing (as Mr. Smith says) "the Chinese idea of Buddha as *Yamantaka* condemning the enemies of Buddhism to the nether world". From what we know of Akbar's character it is not in any way impossible that he should have Buddhist pictures about his bed-room and Mr. Smith supposed the drawing to be a copy of the Chinese original.

On the north side of the window over the eastern doorway was another picture representing a rock cave in which is an angel holding a child in his arms. This probably refers to the miraculous birth of Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jahāngir.

The verandah was also decorated with paintings but only a small fragment now remains on the north side.

The frescoes in the *Khawābgāh* as well as those in the "Painted Chamber" and Maryam's House were varnished over in 1893 in order to preserve them from further irretrievable decay.

To the south of the *Khawābgāh* is a low platform with a window or *Darshan Tharoka* looking towards the

south. The platform seems to have originally been shaded by a canopy under which the king used to take his seat every morning to show his face to the people (called "*Darshanīyas*" by Badāyūnī) who would neither wash their faces nor rinse their mouth nor eat or drink anything until they had seen the Emperor's face.

The Khawābgāh appears to have been originally connected with the Maryam's House and Jodh Bāi's Palace by a closed passage since pulled down. A part of viaduct, however, still exists and leads to the Panch Mahal.

PANCH MAHAL

One of the most interesting buildings at Fatehpur Sikri is a curiously built open pavilion of five stories, each storey being smaller than the one upon which it stands, till at last only a small kiosk supported on four slender columns forms the uppermost floor. This is the Panch Mahal (Plate V). Opinions differ as to the origin and object of this curious building. Some maintain that it was designed as a place for the *Muazzin* to call for prayers at the appointed hours; others think that it was intended for hanging a large bell at the highest point to announce to the citizens the functional hours of the court; still others believe that from it Akbar used to survey the surrounding country. Obviously, however, it was intended as a place for recreation and pastime, where the Emperor sitting in the uppermost kiosk enjoyed the fresh air of the evening and the moon-light during summer nights, the ladies of

the royal household occupying seats lower down with probably curtains of net work to admit of free air and a full view of the country, or possibly it may have been used exclusively by the ladies. The entire design is supposed to have been copied from the plan of a Buddhist *vihāra* although 4 or 5 storeyed Buddhist *vihāras* did not exist in Northern India in the days of Akbar. The ground floor contains 84 columns, the first 56, the second 20, the third 12 and the fourth or the topmost only 4. On the south-east angle is a small private entrance from the Khās Maḥal.

The ground floor was divided up into a number of cubicles by means of stone screens stretching from column to column. The ceiling was crudely decorated, probably in later times, in white colour and many of the stone beams are ornamented with bosses. A staircase on the south-west corner leads to the upper storeys.

The first floor is divided into 24 bays, and the open spaces between the columns were filled in with screens. Each of the 56 columns on the first floor is varied in the ornamentation of its cap and base as well as in its mouldings or other embellishments, so that the eye finds an infinite variety of detail to feast upon. The shafts of the quartette of columns on the north-west angle are carved spirally with lotus buds at the tops and the caps are ornamented with plants, etc.* On the capital of one of the pillars may be seen a tree from which a man is picking fruit and it has been suggested that the capital comes from some Buddhist temple; but this is highly improbable as the mouldings on the necking are purely Saracenic. Some of the figures

carved on the columns have been destroyed or partly defaced. The columns on the other floors are quite plain.

The parapets form the exterior ornamentation of the place. Each floor seems to have been originally enclosed by stone screens, and it is from this circumstance that one would be inclined to think that the Panch Maḥal was used by the ladies of the *haram*.

It is suggested that a Hindū influence pervades the whole building, particularly in the construction of the various floors and the carving on the brackets.

SHIFĀ KHĀNA (Hospital)

On the north of the Panch Maḥal is a large open court, on two sides of which were two buildings said to have been used as the Hospital; now only a part of one of them remains. But its close proximity to the Imperial *Zanāna* and the fact that the so-called *Shifā Khāna* building has so spacious a court which is, at the same time, provided with a double gateway and a guard-room seem to suggest that it was either used as servants' quarters or perhaps as parking area for the palanquins or carriages of the lady visitors to the royal *haram*.

The building had a gabled roof and was divided up by partitions into cubicles, some of which are still standing. In front was a spacious verandah covered by a flat roof carried on stone pillars. The roof is constructed of solid slabs of stone wrought into an exquisite panelled ceiling on the underside and carved in imitation of tiles on the outer side. Around the

doors and windows ornamental borders were painted in red and white. Pegs for hanging clothes, etc., were let into the walls on both sides of the doors and recesses and the few that still remain are carved with the busts of animals. If used as a hospital at all, it was in all likelihood set apart for the use of courtiers and their families and the attendants of the royal palaces as it is too near the *zanāna* palaces. A hospital for the use of the general public could not have been so small and at the same time erected so close to the *zanāna* quarters. There must have been some public hospitals at Fatehpur Sikri, but they have all disappeared.

MARYAM-KĪ-KOTĪ (Maryam's House)

To the south of the hospital is Maryam's Palace, also known as the *Sunahrā Makān* or "Golden House" because of the profuse gilding which once embellished its exterior and interior (Plate VI). According to Keene, the occupant of the house was Sultāna Salīma Begam, daughter of Bābur's daughter, Gulrukh or Gulbarg, and widow of Bairam Khān who married Akbar in 1561.¹ Others assign it to Akbar's Rājput wife, Maryam Zamānī,² the mother of the heir-apparent. Some of

¹ *Handbook to Agra*, p. 238; *Humāyūn-Nāma* (London, 1902), pp. 276-80.

² Maryam Zamānī or Maryamu-z-Zamānī was the title of Akbar's Rājput wife whose real name is not known to history. She was the daughter of Rāja Bihārā Mal and sister of Rāja Bhagwān Dās and Akbar married her at Sambhar in 968 A.H. (1560-61 A. D.). She must not be confounded with Maryam Makānī which was the title of Akbar's mother, Hamīda Bānū Begam, *vide* Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 309 and 619; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text, p. 361, etc., *Humāyūn Nāma*, Persian text, edited by A. S. Beveridge, pp. 237-41.

the Christian writers say that Maryam was a Christian queen of Akbar, but in the absence of historical support no faith can be placed in the statement. Abu-l-Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, makes no mention of the Emperor having ever married a Christian lady whereas the other contemporary authors and even later historians are equally silent on the point. The story seems to have originated in the fact that Jahāngir's mother who was the daughter of Rāja Bihārā Mal, a Kachwāha Rājput, had the title (not the name) of Maryamu-z-Zamānī which when translated means "Mary of the age". The name or the title is by no means uncommon even today amongst the Muslims who revere the memory of Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus, just as much as the memory of other pious ladies mentioned in the Bible or the *Qurān*.

The story has gained weight from the existence of a very indistinct painting on a panel over a doorway on the west side of Maryam's house which is stated by the guides to represent the "*Annunciation*". Another picture in the *Khwābgāh* (p. 28 *supra*) represents an angel holding a child in his arms and therefore might also be regarded as such. In either case what the picture actually was meant to represent is a speculation based on its appearance and too much significance should not be attached to these decorative details.

On the ground floor of Maryam's House are four rooms, an oblong one running north to south and three smaller ones running at right angles to it at the south end. Over these latter ones are three others from

which a stair-case leads to the flat roof surmounted by an open pavilion carried on 8 square columns used for sleeping purposes in summer nights. On three sides of the house are open verandahs protected by a deep drip-stone supported on massive brackets, some of them carved. On one of the four brackets surmounting the pillar at the north-west corner of the verandah is carved a figure which seems that of Śrī Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Śrī Rāma is attended by Hanūmān and stands upon a lotus bud holding a bulb of the sacred plant in one hand and his bow in the other. Above the figure is a band of *Kīrtimukhas*, and below it is a border of Brahmanī ducks. Another bracket is ornamented with a couple of elephants and a third with a pair of geese. Most of the sculptures are in a very decayed condition.

The verandah walls as well as the inner walls of the room were richly painted with frescoes. In some instances the drawing was spirited and well done, and the colouring, judging from what remains, rich and refined. As is well known, Akbar took great interest in painting. From his earliest youth he showed a great predilection for the art and never failed to give it every encouragement, looking upon it "as a means both of study and of amusement".¹

The frescoes on the walls are said to represent the chief events of Firdausī's poem, the *Shāh Nāma*.² Most

¹ Blochmann's *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 107-8.

² Akbar was a great patron of fine art and literature and, according to Muḥammad 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, the Emperor had much fancy to the *Shāh Nāma* and the *Story of Amīr Hamza* which he got transcribed by eminent calligraphists in seventeen volumes in 15 years and spent much gold in illustrating them (*Muntakhabu'l-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 320).

of them are now in a decayed state as no steps until recently were taken to preserve them. The stone beams of the verandah roof were also gilded and inscribed with couplets composed by Faizi, the poet-laureate of Akbar's court.

On the outside wall various scenes are depicted: on the east side is a tournament, on the north a hunting scene and so on. The piers of the verandah were also painted and on some floral designs and remains of elephant fights are still to be seen. Several pilasters and pillars are painted with trees, bird, etc., and the drawings are so well done that one would hardly expect Indian artists of the 16th century capable of such reproductions. The frescoes have several times been whitewashed and subjected to such injudicious renovations that most of the paintings were scraped off along with the lime wash that covered them. Varnish has subsequently been applied to prevent fading. Inside the room, in a large recess in the southern wall, are two large size figures, one of which to the east seems to be that of Sri Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu. The style and technique of these figures shows Chinese influence.

For many years the public had no free access to this beautiful palace which was reserved for the officers of the Public Works Department and was also used for residential purposes by the District Engineer; but in 1905 it was evacuated and brought under the protection of the Archaeological Department.

THE KITCHEN

To the south-east of Maryam's House is an oblong structure built of stone elaborately carved with zigzag lines and other ornaments. It is related to have been the kitchen attached to the Maryam's House.

JODH BĀI'S PALACE

Regarded by some as the residence of Maryamu-z-Zamānī, the mother of the heir-apparent, it was probably built by Akbar for his daughter-in-law, a daughter of Rāja Bhagwān Dās, who married Jahāngīr in 993 A. H. (1585 A.D.) and gave birth to Sulṭānu-n-Nisā Begam and Prince Khusrū, or for his another daughter-in-law, Jagat Gosāinī or Jodh Bāi, daughter of Rāja Udai Singh of Jodhpur, who was married to Jahāngīr in 994 A.H. (1585-6 A.D.) and bore him Prince Khurram, afterwards Emperor Shāh Jahān*. But as Fatehpur Sikri was abandoned about the year 1586 it is probable that the palace was never occupied for a long time by the lady for whom it was intended.

It is the largest and the most important of all the domestic buildings gracing Akbar's capital (Plate VII).

* Jodh Bāi, often spoken of as the mother of Jahāngīr, was really his wife and daughter of Motha Rāja of Jodhpur. She was the mother of prince Khurram and was called Jagat Gosāin or Gosāinī. She died in 1028 A. H. (1618-19 A. D.). His mother, known as Maryamu-z-Zamānī, was the daughter of Rāja Bihārī Mal (a Kachh-wāhī Rājput) and aunt of Rāja Mān Singh (vide *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text, pp. 5 and 6 of Introduction, and pp. 7-8, and 268; Beale's *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 202; etc.).

The building is full of interest and deserves careful study. It is complete in itself and its plan will be interesting as showing the internal arrangement of a typical Indo-Muhammadan palace of the latter half of the 16th century. A close and striking resemblance exists between this palace and the Jahāngirī Mahal in the Agra Fort. The free use of lintel and bracket and the total absence of arch and timber mark both alike and the bell and chain ornament is freely carved on the piers.

The palace consists of a large open quadrangle on the four sides of which are suites of single-storeyed rooms with double-storeyed blocks in the centre and corners to break the sky-line. The central block on the east side forms a vestibule to the main entrance of the building and that opposite it was used as PRIVATE CHAPEL, whilst those on the north and south probably served as SITTING AND SLEEPING ROOMS.

Jutting out from the south external wall of the building are the PRIVATE BATHS of the palace approached from the quadrangle by two narrow passages in the sides of the central south block. Each set consists of an open court in the middle with small rooms on one or two sides used as LATRINES and on the east a small TURKISH BATH. The palace quadrangle is flagged with stone slabs diagonally arranged. Around the sides are drains to carry off the rain water and in the centre is a small STONE TANK said to have contained the sacred *Tulsi* plant.

Staircases in the sides of the central blocks lead to the roof. The blocks are surmounted by long chambers, two of which (on the north and south) are covered by roofs of stone overlaid with blue tiles. The upper room at the north side of the northern block is said to have been used as a DINING ROOM, and it is interesting to note that its walls are panelled after a style prevalent in England about the same time, *viz.*, during the Elizabethan period. A door-way leads from the roof into a large apartment on the north enclosed by open red sandstone screens and known as the HAWĀ MAḤAL which overlooks Maryam's Garden. A staircase on the west side leads to the VIADUCT connecting Jodh Bāi's Palace with the Hiran Minār.

The HAWĀ MAḤAL, or "Wind Palace", was probably exclusively meant for the ladies of the *haram* who could enjoy full view of the surrounding country and the palace gardens without being seen, the stone lattices enclosing the outer sides affording protection from the sun and rain, and at the same time admitting of free ventilation.

The flat roofs of the single storeyed rooms surrounding the courtyard of Jodh Bāi's Palace were used as promenades by the inmates of the palace, and to secure complete privacy the outer walls were built high to act as screens.

The corner rooms of the first floor are covered by domes in which are some exquisite medallions unfortunately coated over with whitewash. Traces of coloured decoration may be seen on the walls and around the bases of the domes.

The exterior façades of the building are plain and severe to a degree. Four domes, however, covering the apartments at the corners of the building with handsome balconies projecting from their upper ends add much to the general effect of the design.

The entrance to the palace on the east is simple but well proportioned. It was jealously guarded by trusted soldiers and eunuchs after the established custom of the east. As a rule, the inside of the *haram* was guarded by sober, loyal and active women, the most trustworthy of them being placed in charge of the apartments of the Emperor.

On the left of the entrance is a small building which probably served as the GUARD-HOUSE. Between it and the wall on the right of the entrance there was a screen hiding the entrance to the palace and making it private. It was unfortunately pulled down some 39 years ago.

The VIADUCT referred to above (p. 38) is carried on piers and arches and is surmounted with domed kiosks at intervals. It is screened to allow the court ladies to pass unseen by it from one building to another. It commences at Jodh Bār's Palace and traversing Maryam's Garden and Hāthi Pol it is supposed to have ended at the Hiran Minār where the ladies of the imperial *haram* went to view the sports and tournaments.

MARYAM-KĀ-CHAMAN (Maryam's Garden)

To north of Jodh Bār's palace is a Mughal Garden, known as the Maryam-kā-Chaman, measuring some 92' 8" × 62' 8". Originally enclosed by a wall, it was

intended for the exclusive use of the Emperor and the ladies of his seraglio. It is sometimes assigned to Sultāna Salīma Begam, daughter of Bābur's daughter, Gulrukh Begam, who married Akbar in 1561 after the death of her first husband, Bairam Khān Khān-i-Khānān. Its foot-paths were paved with stone while shallow water channels bordering them were connected with Waterworks. A channel running centrally north and south passes beneath a stone pavilion at the north end and falls into a beautiful little tank close to it on the north and known as the *Machchhī Tāl*. The little tank was discovered during the course of removing heaps of débris by Mr. Smith in 1891.

MACHCHHĪ TĀL (Fish Tank)

Measuring 5' 9" × 2' 11", the surface of the water is reached on the east and west by three steps. On the south is a small waterfall while on the north there are fourteen niches, 8½" × 7", in which, according to Sa'id Aḥmad,* lamps of variegated colours were lighted to add to the charm of waterfall. Fishes of various colours were kept in it, and with gold rings in their nose the tiny sportive creatures were a source of considerable enjoyment to the ladies.

MARYAM-KĀ-HAUZ (Maryam's Tank)

At the south-east corner of Maryam's Garden is a swimming tank, traditionally assigned to Maryam. Measuring 26 feet square and 4 feet deep with the roof 8' 10" high carried on stone pillars, the *Hauz* was

* *Aḥār-i-Akbarī*, p. 111.

originally enclosed by screens and the ladies of the royal *haram* probably took their bath here in summer.

BIRBAL'S HOUSE

To north-west of Jodh Bāi's palace in a courtyard is a beautiful building, known as Rāja Bīrbal's House, one of the most noted palaces at Fatehpur Sikri and splendidly carved both inside and out.

Rāja Bīrbal was a poor Brahmin *Bhāt* or minstrel but very 'clear-headed and remarkable for his power of apprehension'. His real name was Mahesh Dās. He came from Kalpi and soon after Akbar's accession presented himself at the royal court where his ready wit soon made him a personal favourite of the Emperor. His Hindi verses were much appreciated and he was made a *Kavi Rāi* or the Hindi Poet-laureate. Later, he was given the title of Rāja, and by his wit and ability he rose to the position of a minister of the kingdom. He was very dear to Akbar who had him constantly by his side. Most of his time was spent at court but he was sometimes employed on political missions also which he generally fulfilled with success.

In the 34th year of Akbar's reign Zain *Khān* Koka who was fighting against the Yūsuf Zāis in Bijor and Sawād happened to ask for reinforcements. Bīrbal and Abu-l-Fazl both offered their services. The matter was decided by lot, and much against the Emperor's wish it fell on the former. So Bīrbal had to be sent together with Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fath. The campaign was badly conducted and "Bīrbal and nearly 8,000 imperialists were killed during the retreat—the severest

defeat that Akbar's army ever suffered". Akbar held a regular mourning when the news of Birbal's death reached him and his grief was for a long time inconsolable. Birbal was the only Hindū who had subscribed to the new religion, the "*Divine Monotheism*".

The question as to whom this beautiful house was built for has involved a good deal of controversy. Some assign it to Rāja Birbal's fictitious daughter who is said to have been a wife of Akbar. But the facts that Abu-l-Faẓl, the well-known historian of Akbar's time, has not mentioned her name in the list of the Emperor's wives and that he could never have omitted such an important alliance go a long way to disprove the tradition.

Abu-l-Faẓl does speak of the erection of a house by Akbar for Rāja Birbal in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.), but it has not so far been identified with precision. On the monument under notice, however, an inscription in Hindī was discovered by Mr. E. W. Smith on the capital of a pilaster on the west facade of the building stating that it was erected in Samvat 1629 (1572 A.D.), i.e., 10 years before the date given by Abu-l-Faẓl and just at the time when the *zanāna* palaces were being constructed. It being the year of Akbar's marriage to the daughter of Rāja Kalyān Mal of Bikaner,* the palace may well be assigned to her rather than to Rāja Birbal whose living so close to the *haram* appears to be doubtful. Though now open on all sides, it was originally provided with stone screens.

* *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 133.

The building is a double-storeyed structure standing on a large concrete platform carried on pillars and arches of rough masonry built up from the ravine below. On the ground floor are four rooms, each about 16' square, and two entrance porches, and on the upper storey, reached by two staircases in the south-west and north-east corners, are two square chambers placed corner-wise. Although square in plan, the upper rooms are covered with domes. The ceilings of the lower rooms are most exquisitely carved, also the walls of both the lower and upper rooms.

On the exterior of the building the Hindū bracket and the Muhammadan arch are combined with pleasing effect. The variety of designs enriching the walls and pilasters, both inside and outside the house, is marvellous, and shows that the artizans employed were thoroughly conversant with geometry and the principles of arabesque design. Mr. Keene in his description of Birbal's house says "It would seem as if a Chinese ivory carver had been employed on a Cyclopean monument....."

On the north-west side of the house there is a small gabled building which, according to some, served as a private hospital for the inmates. There were long and high *purdah* walls on the north, south and west sides of the house, but they have all been pulled down. It is important to remember that originally the Khāg Mahal and the Turkish Sultāna's House were separated from Maryam's House, Jodh Bāi's Palace and the neighbouring buildings by a high wall since removed making two separate enclosures connected by a doorway.

Under the British rule, Birbal's House was utilized

for the residence of District officers and after the Mutiny of 1857 was reserved for the use of inspecting officers and distinguished guests. In 1905 it was evacuated and made over to the Archæological Department and the modern additions were removed.

NAGĪNA MASJID (Gem Mosque)

Having seen all the royal palaces the visitor will now find his way to the interesting tower, called the Hiran Minār, *via* Nagīna Masjid, Hāthī Pol (or Elephant Gate) and Caravan-sarai.

A little to the north-west of the *zanāna* garden is a small mosque, called the Nagīna Masjid. It is said to have been erected for the use of the ladies of the Imperial *ḥaram* and was surrounded by high *pardah* walls since removed. To south-west of the mosque and just in front of the Alms-house for Hindūs are the Stables (*vide* also Stables, p. 51).

LANGAR KHĀNA (Alms-house)

At the back of the mosque is a small *Langar Khāna*, or Alms-house. To the north-west of this is another small alms-house of about the same dimensions and design. The one at the back of the mosque was probably set apart for Muhammadans and the other for Hindūs. Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badāyūnī* mentions the construction of places for feeding the poor, one of them meant for Muhammadans being called *Khairpura* and the other for Hindūs called *Dharmapura*. Some of Abu-l-Faḥl's people were put in charge of them.

* *Muntakhabu-i-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 324.

On leaving the Nagīna Mosque the visitor should proceed to the Elephant Gate, the Waterworks and the Hiran Mīnār, which are situated a little to the north, and then return to the royal palaces. The main road passes through the Hāthī Pol described below and leads down to the GREAT ARTIFICIAL LAKE, about 6 miles long by 2 miles wide (now dry), which once formed the north-west defence of Fatehpur Sikri. The water of Khārī Nadī was obstructed and the dam thus built supplied water to the entire locality and the palaces on the ridge as well as to irrigation canals traces of which are still extant.

KABŪTAR-KHĀNA

To the left of the Elephant Gate is a simple square tower-like building, commonly called the *Kabūtār Khāna*, or Pigeon House, but generally supposed by western writers to have served the purpose of a magazine. Some people call it the stable for Akbar's favourite elephant, Hārūn (lit. restive), which is said to have been buried under the Hiran Mīnār, but in fact the original purpose of the building is unknown so far. That Akbar was fond of pigeons and kept a large number of them is evident from the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.* But beyond tradition there is no reliable authority for calling the building a house for the royal pigeons. It is square in plan and the walls of the structure are more than 10 feet in thickness coated with plaster, about 3" thick, and they have a decided batter which is a characteristic of the Pathān buildings.

* *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Persian text, Vol. I, pp. 215-18.

HĀTHĪ POL (Elephant Gate)

The Elephant Gate derives its name from the circumstance that two colossal elephants of stone originally stood on high pedestals outside the gate with their trunks interlocking over the keystone of the archway. They seem to have been broken subsequently and only a portion of the animals now remains. On the sides of the gate are Guards' Chambers placed on a broad plinth.

SANGĪN BURJ (Stone Tower)

Adjoining the Hāthī Pol is the Sangīn Burj, or Stone Tower. It is a grand bastion said to have been the commencement of the fortifications which were never completed owing to the saint Shaikh Salim Chishtī's disapproval. But nothing is to be found in the authentic records of history in support of this tradition. On the north-east side of the tower was a gallery by which the Burj was formerly connected with the Hāthī Pol.

According to Mullā 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badāyūnī*, it was in this tower that the illustrious Mirzā Sulaimān, Governor of Badakhshān, was accommodated when he visited Fatehpur Sikri in the year 983 A.H. (1575-76 A.D.) The same authority mentions that probably for some time the Tower was used as the Naqqār Khāna, or Music Gallery, whence the royal musicians played. This Naqqār Khāna, however, must not be confounded with the one noticed above (p. 12) which announced the arrival and departure of the Emperor, etc. The

* *Muntakhbat-i-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 216.

Naqqār Khāna under notice was probably used when the Emperor played Chaugān or Polo near the Hiran Minār for, as stated by Abu-l-Faẓl, "when a ball is driven to the hāl (or the pillars marking the end of the playground) the naqqāra is beaten so that all that are far and near may know (how the game is proceeding)."¹

DĀROGHA-KĀ-MAKĀN (Dārogha's House)

A little to the west of the Sangīn Burj are the ruins of a building, commonly called the Dārogha-kā-Makān, or the Dārogha-kā-Hammān. The Dārogha was in charge of stables and manager of the caravan-sarai and, according to Abu-l-Faẓl, he was designated "Amīn-i-Kārwānsarāi"².

CARAVAN-SARĀI

Continuing down the road leading to the Hiran Minār the visitor will notice on his left the Caravan-sarāi consisting of a large court, about 272' × 246', surrounded by cloisters in which merchants and travellers rested secure with their rich stuffs, horses, etc. It was here that Malik Mas'ūd, the famous Persian merchant, put up with his wards—the infant Mihru-n-Nisā Khānām (better known to the world afterwards as the Empress Nūr Jahān) and her miserable father, Mīrzā Ghayāth, who later rose to the highest post in the Mughal court. Formerly the south-east side was 3 stories high, but the greater part of the successive tiers of domed chambers have fallen down.

¹ *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 215.

² *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Persian text, Vol. I, p. 241.

BĀOLĪ (Stepped well)

On the north of the road described above (p. 45) is a large *Bāolī*,* or stepped well, which formed part of the Waterworks described below. The diameter of the well is about 22' 6" and it is protected by an octagonal structure surrounded by chambers.

KĀRKHĀNA-I-ĀBRASĀNĪ (Waterworks)

The machinery for lifting the water was put in the side chambers where massive stone beams that used to support the axle of a Persian-wheel may still be seen. On the south of the well runs an aqueduct by which water was conducted into a reservoir by the side of the road with domed chambers on either side. From this reservoir it was again lifted to another well or tank near the *Hāthī Pol* and thence it flowed through a channel to a large tank beneath the wall adjoining the eastern side of the gate. It was again raised on to the roof of the cloisters inside the *Hāthī Pol* over which it flowed by means of channels. They are still traceable and lead to some reservoirs in a building near the arched gateway. From here the water was raised to the top of the gate and dispersed to the various buildings by means of channels some of which are still extant. The outlet explained above supplied water to the buildings on this side of the town, but there was another outlet extending from the top of the gateway to a

*The Archaeological Department has lately done extensive repairs to it and its general appearance is now much improved.

tank against a room on the north side of the road leading from Birbal's Palace to Maryam's House below the closed VIADUCT connecting Jodh Bāi's Palace with the *Hiran Minār*. It was thence carried to Maryam's Bath and then flowed past the north side of Maryam's House into the *Anūp Talāo*.

On the north of this tank was an overflow passing beneath the covered way that connected the Girls' School with the Turkish Sultāna's House along the east side of the paved *Pachchīsī* Court. It went past the *Diwān-i-Khās* and beneath the cloister on the north and emptied itself into a large tank on the other side. This tank is built on arches by the side of the road leading to the village of Nagar. There was another water supply and one of the large reservoirs and wells connected with it may still be seen near the inclined road leading to the Hakīm's *Hammām*.

HIRAN MINĀR (Deer Tower)

Continuing down the road the visitor reaches the *Hiran Minār* (or Deer Tower). It is built of red sandstone and stands on a platform, 72' 3" square and 7' 10" in height, approached by double flights of steps on the north and east sides. Originally there were steps on the south side also but they have fallen and their traces are still to be seen. Rising from the centre of the platform is the tower, 60' 8" high, measured from the top of the octagonal base, 3' 10" high, on which it stands. The lower part of the tower, to the height of about 13 ft. from the upper platform, is octagonal,

and above it circular and tapering upwards. The top is crowned by a huge honey-combed capital provided with a perforated stone railing all round. A picturesque view of the surrounding country is to be had from the top of this Minār and, being originally connected with the ladies' quarters by a screened viaduct, it was probably from this tower that the royal ladies enjoyed the elephant fights and tournaments held in the vast arena below.

According to Mr. E. W. Smith, the tower resembles the one in the sacred courtyard around the shrine of Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥusain at Karbalā, and he thinks it probable that the architect had that tower in view when preparing the design. But the Karbalā tower is overlaid with tiling while this one is studded with imitations of tusks in stone at regular intervals—a circumstance which has given rise to a tradition that the tower was built as a monument to one of Akbar's favourite elephants, Hārūn (lit. restive), which lies buried beneath the foundations. Another tradition connected with the tower is that Akbar used to shoot antelopes (Hindī, *Hiran*) from its top.

Neither of the traditions, however, appears to be reliable. But since a covered way led from the *Haram* or *Zamāna* palaces to the tower, it is probable that it was originally called *Haram Minār*, the word *Haram* being afterwards corrupted into *Hiran*.

The visitor will now go to Bīrbal's house again and thence to the Grand Cathedral Mosque of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri passing the Stables and the Houses of Abu-l-Faẓl and Faḡī.

STABLES

The stables to the south of Birbal's House accommodated 110 horses and were meant for the choicest horses favoured by the Emperor.

Akbar was very fond of horses, and his stables invariably contained about 12,000 horses* of excellent Turkish, Arab, Persian, *Kashmiri* and *Irāqi* breeds. A separate place was set apart for the horse dealers where they could rest secure from the hardships of the weather and from thieves. As a matter of fact there were many stables for the Imperial horses at Fatehpur, each being under the supervision of a *Dārogha* or Superintendent. This post was held, according to circumstances, by officers of the rank of commander of 5,000 down to senior *Aḥadīs*.

The building is an oblong open court enclosed on three sides by stalls. Formerly the open spaces between the piers were closed with stone screens with two doorways but none of them is now left. The mangers are formed by recesses in the walls.

CAMEL STABLES

On the east side of the Horse Stables are a series of cavernous rooms, erroneously known as "Camel Stables". The presence of the marks of stone screens suggests that they were probably "Grooms' quarters", and the small doors connecting them with the spacious stable on the west goes a long way to support the view.

* *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian text (Calcutta edition, 1872), Vol. I, p. 144. For particulars about the Imperial Horse Stables, see *ibidem*, pp. 144-45.

Abu-l-Fazl describes how Akbar from the time of his taking over the reins of Government showed a great liking for this animal and how besides using it for general transport and carrying mails he held their regular fights, for which purpose several choice animals were always kept in readiness.¹

The stables consist of one long dark block divided into bays in length by ranges of stone pillars carrying the beams of flat roof in which there are many small openings for light and air. Attached to these on the east are the *Hammāms* and latrines which further help to confirm the identification of the monument.

ABU-L-FAZL AND FAIZI'S HOUSES

The visitor will next see the monuments, traditionally known as the houses of the two famous brothers, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Faizi, close under, and projecting from, the north wall of the Jāmi' Masjid quadrangle. They are very unpretentious buildings and were used until recently as Boys' Schools by the District Board and Dargāh Committee.

Abu-l-Fazl and Faizi were the sons of Shaikh Mubārak, one of the most learned men of the period who drew up the famous document declaring Akbar to be the *Mujtahid* of the age.² The sons were as distinguished as the father. Faizi, or Faiyāzi³ as he called himself later in imitation of the appellation of 'Allāmī assumed

¹ *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Persian text (Calcutta edition, 1872), Vol. I, p. 146.

² Blochmann's translation of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 186-188.

³ Beale's *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 125. In the *Naldaman*, Faizi writes:—

اکنون شده ام ز عشق مرتاض . فیاضی ام از محیط فیاض .

by his younger brother Abu-l-Faḡl, was the Persian Poet-laureate at the court of Akbar and tutor of the princes and was also employed on several political missions. Born at Agra in 954 A.H. (1547-48 A.D.), Faḡlī is related to have written 101 books, prominent among them being *Sawāḡi' u-l-Ilhām*, an Arabic commentary on the *Qurān*, and *Mawārid u-l-Kalām*, both of which have been composed without using any dotted letters and illustrate his wonderful mastery over the Arabic lexicography. He died of asthma and dropsy on the 10th of Ṣafar 1004 A.H. (15th October, 1595 A.D.). The younger brother, Abu-l-Faḡl, was born in 1551 A.D. and soon after completing his education was introduced to the Emperor in the 19th year of his reign. He was for a long time the Prime Minister of Akbar and took a prominent part in the religious discussions inaugurated by Akbar. He is the author of the celebrated *Akbar Nāma* and *Āin-i-Akbarī*, a history of the Mughal Emperors up to the 47th year of Akbar's reign, as also of the *Maktūbāt-i-'Allāmī*. He was sent with Prince Murād in 1006 A.H. (1597-98 A.D.) as Commander-in-Chief of the Deccan forces, and when after five years he was coming back through Narwar with a small escort, he was attacked by Bīr Singh Deo, Rāja of Orchha, at the instigation of Prince Salīm, who held him responsible for a misunderstanding between himself and his imperial father and also considered him as the enemy of the Prophet.* Abu-l-Faḡl was killed with most of his men on the 4th of Rabi' I, 1011 A.H. (22nd August, 1602 A.D.) and his head was sent to the Prince

* *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, Persian text (Aligarh edition, 1864), pp. 9-10; Blochmann's *Āin*, Vol. I, pp. XXVI-VII; etc.

at Allahabad.* Akbar was deeply afflicted by the news of his murder.

There is nothing of architectural interest about the two houses. Tradition assigns the first of them on the east to Abu-l-Fazl and the second to Faizī. But the latter being decidedly *zanāna*, it seems reasonable to suppose that both the brothers probably used it jointly as such while in the former they had their reading and sitting rooms and also their joint library. At the back of the so-called Abu-l-Fazl's house is a small *hammām* or Bath consisting of domed chambers. In front of the houses is a spacious court containing a tank.

JĀMI' MASJID

The Jāmi' Masjid, or Cathedral Mosque, which is rightly described as the "Glory of Fatehpur Sikri", is the grandest and the largest building in the city and ranks amongst the finest mosques in the east (Plate VIII). It is reached by two large gateways approached by broad flights of steps on the south and east sides. That on the east is the Bādshāhī Darwāza, or King's Gate, so called because it was the one through which the Emperor Akbar passed every morning on his way from the palaces to the service in the mosque. The other on the south is the majestic gateway of gigantic

* The *Tārīkh* of Abu-l-Fazl's death which Khān-i-Zamān Mirzā, Kokah is said to have written may also be cited—تغیغ اعجاز رسول (i.e., The sword of the miracle of God's Prophet cut off the head of باغی or rebel). This means the deduction of the numerical value of ب (or 2) from that of باغی (or 1013), i.e., 1013-2=1011 A. H.

proportions, called the *Baland Darwāza* or the Lefty Gate.

In the enclosure is a vast open courtyard surrounded on three sides by spacious cloisters and on the 4th or west side by the Prayer Hall. On the north side of the courtyard is the tomb of Shailah Salim Chishtī enclosed in a shrine of white marble and lighted with large windows in pierced tracery of the most exquisite geometrical patterns. Close to this tomb, on the east, stands the tomb of his grandson, Nawāb Islām Khān, and on the north-east a vault, called the *Zanāna Rauza*, containing the graves of the ladies of the Chishtī family. It should be remembered, however, that the tomb did not form part of the original design.

THE BALAND DARWĀZA

The *Baland Darwāza* or Lefty Gateway (about 176 ft. high from the ground below and 134 ft. high from the pavement in front of the main entrance) is the highest in India and one of the highest in the world (Plate IX). It has been regarded by authorities as "one of the most perfect architectural achievements in India".¹ Fergusson quotes it as a perfectly satisfactory solution of the difficult problem of giving a large building a door at all in proportion to its dimensions,² and Havell calls it as one of the most striking examples of perfect co-ordination between the structural and the decorative elements so essential

¹ V. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (1911), p. 410.

² Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (published in London, 1876), p. 580.

for the best forms of architecture.¹ Some people, however, do not agree with the great authorities quoted above and they think that the gate is not at all proportionate to the mosque to which it leads and throws the latter into shade. But this is due to the Gate being no part of the original design, having been erected some time after the completion of the mosque as a triumphal arch to commemorate his victory in the Deccan. In fact it was erected in 983 A. H. (1575-76 A. D.),² and the year 1010 A. H. (1601-02 A. D.) given in an inscription on the east side of the central gateway evidently refers to Akbar's return to Fatehpur Sikri after his Deccan expedition and not to the completion of the Baland Darwāza.

The front built in the form of a semi-octagon projects about 33' beyond the south wall of the masjid quadrangle. The immense alcove is pierced by three recessed entrances. The central, which is also the largest, forms the principal doorway and is known as the NA'LI DARWĀZA, or Horse-shoe Gate, from the circumstance that the shutters made of *shisham* wood are thickly studded with horse-shoes put there by those who believe that their animals would be cured by the blessings of Shaikh Salim Chishti, the patron saint of Fatehpur Sikri buried in the quadrangle of the mosque. They are all of iron, some of them peculiarly shaped, but it is asserted that there were at one time others of silver as well. A couple of these were once taken away by

¹ E. B. Havell's *Indian Architecture* (1913), p. 168.

² The date of its construction as given in the *Miftāhu-t-Tawārīkh* is to be found in the words رشك طاق سپهر بلند (Envy of the arch of the high firmament) yielding 983 A. H.

a visitor, but they were eventually recovered and placed in their original position.

THE BALAND DARWĀZA is Persian in general form and Persian pendentives with intersecting arches are used in the semi-dome. Simple carving and discreet inlaying of white marble are the only decorations it bears. A long Arabic inscription carved in bold *Naskh* letters runs around the arch at the beginning of which is given the name of the writer Husain, son of Ahmad Chishtī, a Khalifa of the saint, Shaikh Salim.

JHĀLRA OR DIVING WELL

Before leaving the *Baland Darwāza* the visitor may just cast a glance at the LANGAR KHĀNA, or Alms-house, on the east where the poor were fed, the large ruined BATHS of NAWĀB ISLĀM KHĀN in front and the BĀOLĪ or "Diving well", called the JHĀLRA, to the west of the gateway. Local divers jump into the large well from the parapet of the Masjid, about 80' high. A rupee is generally offered and accepted. A number of boys only too willing to get *bakhshish* of a few annas each, jump into the water from all sides of the well.

Returning through the Horse-shoe Gate of the *Baland Darwāza*, the visitor enters upon the vast quadrangle of the *Masjid*. Before, however, stepping into the quadrangle the first thing that invites attention is the inscription on the right hand central archway cut in embossed Persian characters erroneously supposed to assign the construction of the gateway to Akbar but in fact, as stated above (p. 56), referring to his return to Fatehpur Sikri after his conquest in the Deccan in the 46th *Ilāhī* year (1602 A. D.).

Over the left archway is another epigraph recording the name of the scribe Muḥammad Ma'sūm Nāmī who is responsible for so many inscriptions of Akbar's time and the names of Allāh, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusain in *Tughra* characters.

It is worth while to ascend to the top of the Baland Darwāza from which the whole city can be seen and even the Tāj at Agra, some 24 miles off, on a fine cloudless day. The top is reached by flights of steps on the eastern and western sides of the gateway.

The Mosque is said to be an exact copy of the great mosque at Mecca, but this is not correct, for though the general design is purely Muhammadan, some of the structural forms, especially the pillars, are supposed to be Hindū in style. The tradition seems to have originated from a misinterpretation of the chronogram inscribed on the central archway of the Mosque, viz., ثانی المسجد الحرام (lit. the prototype of the Mosque at Mecca) which really means that on account of its chasteness the Mosque built for Shaikh Salim Chishti deserves reverence like the *Masjid-i-Harām*.

The cloisters on three sides of the quadrangle are divided into numerous cells by walls with verandahs in front, and were used by the *Maulavīs* attending the mosque and their pupils as also by the disciples of the Saint who came to visit him from time to time, thus forming the monastery as well as the University buildings of Fatehpur Sikri.

The Masjid proper is one of the finest in India. It is divided into three main portions, a central domed

chamber, about 40' 3" square, and a long pillared hall on each side. The halls are again sub-divided into three parts each; in the centre is a chapel roofed by a ribbed dome carried on beautifully carved corbels at the upper angles of the square room, and on each side of the chapel are aisles divided up by lofty columns supporting heavy stone beams carrying the roof. At the end of each hall is a set of five rooms, probably for the attendants of the mosque, and above these are *zanāna* galleries for the use of ladies.

The dome covering the large chamber in the centre of the *Masjid* is carried on corbels and arches at the angles and is exquisitely ornamented in colour decoration. The chamber is one of the most beautiful ones in India and most elaborately decorated with colour designs and inlay in marble and glazed tiles.

The marble floor in the chamber was laid later in 1605 A. D. by Nawāb Qutbu-d-Dīn Khān Kokaltāsh, a grandson of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī.*

The *mīhrāb* or niche in the central chamber is more ornate than the others in the side halls, and surrounding the arch containing the *mīhrāb* are verses from the *Qurān* in embossed gilded letters. The colouring was partly restored by Mr. E. W. Smith, Archaeological Surveyor, in 1900 as a specimen of the original work. Some of the paintings on the soffits of the great central archway have also been repainted and the work was

* *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Persian text (Allygarh edition, 1864), p. 262. He was the son of Shaikh Salīm's daughter and his real name was Shaikh Khābān or Khābū. He was the foster brother of Emperor Jahāngir, who raised him to the rank of 5,000. He became Governor of Bengal in 1606 and was killed at Burdwan by Shīr Afzān Khān, the first husband of Nūrjāhān Begam, in 1607.

done, it is said, by the Public Works Department some 54 years ago. The decoration of the mosque is not confined to the principal chamber, the ornamentation of the side halls also is very attractive.

On the right hand or north side of the principal *mihṛāb* is the *mimbar* or pulpit from which the *Imām* reads the *Khutba* (Litany) on Fridays. It was in this mosque that on the 1st Friday of Jamādī II, 987 A. H. (31st July, 1579 A. D.) the Emperor Akbar, who was so anxious to unite in his person the spiritual and secular headships of his subjects like the four orthodox caliphs, began to read the *Khutba* composed by Faizi when getting nervous he stammered and trembled in spite of all assistance and had to descend from the pulpit quietly leaving the duties of the *Imām* to be performed by the court *Khatīb*, Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Amīn. The verses read by the Emperor were :—

(۱) بنام آنکه مارا خسروی داد

دل دانا و بازو قوی داد

(۲) بعدل و داد مارا رهنمون کرد

بجز عدل از ضمیر ما بیرون کرد

(۳) بود وصفش ز حد فهم برتر

تعالی شأنه الله اکبر

Translation

1. "In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty, (who) gave (us) a wise heart and a strong hand,

2. "(Who) guided us in equity and justice and banished from our mind everything except justice.

3. "His attributes are beyond the range of thought; Exalted is His Majesty! God is Great!"

The great dome over the central chamber is partly screened by the great archway leading into the *Liwān*. The soffit of the archway is ornamented in coloured designs and just over the entrance is an inscription giving the date of the erection of the mosque 979 A. H. (1571-72 A. D.).

It is interesting to note that tradition ascribes the building of the Jāmi' Masjid to Shaikh Salim Chishti who is said to have erected it at his own expense. The *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, a manuscript history of the family of the Saint, says that Muzaffar Shāh of Gujrat had vowed to send a handsome offering to the Shaikh if he succeeded in getting back his kingdom, and that his desire having been fulfilled he sent a large sum of money to the Saint who began to build the *masjid* in 979 A. H. (1571-72 A. D.). Some other modern manuscripts about Fatehpur Sikri also confirm this statement and local tradition strongly refutes the assertion that the mosque was really erected by Akbar, quoting as an authentic proof the Persian inscription on the central archway of the Prayer Hall, the verses of which say that "the *masjid* was ornamented by Shaikh-i-Islām during the reign of Akbar". It is

worth while to give below the inscription in full together with its English translation :—

(۱) در زمان شه جهان اکبر

که ازو ملک را نظام آمد

(۲) شیخ الاسلام مسجدی آراست

کز صفا کعبه احترام آمد

(۳) سال اتمام این بنائے رفیع

ثانی المسجد الحرام آمد

سنه ۹۷۹ هـ

Translation

1. "During the reign of the King of the world, Akbar, to whom is due the administration of the empire.

2. "Shaikh-l-Islām erected (lit. ornamented) a mosque which in chasteness is as venerable as the *Ka'ba*.

3. "The year of the completion of this stately building was found in ثانی المسجد الحرام (i.e., it is second only to the Mosque at Mecca) 979 A. H. (1571-72 A. D.)."

Now it is highly probable that the fact that Shaikh Salim laid the foundations of a monastery and a mosque in 971 A. H. (1563-64 A. D.) after his return from the *Haj* has been the source of this misunderstanding. And as the present mosque and monastery were built for the Shaikh and probably under his supervision,

Akbar's Mir Munshī, Ashraf Khān, who composed these verses, put in the said verse to please the Saint without, of course, the slightest fear of incurring the displeasure of the King-Emperor who had also an infinite love and regard for his spiritual adviser.

Contemporary evidence, however, will make the question clearer—According to Badāyūnī¹ the mosque was constructed by Akbar for Shaikh Salim Chishtī in the course of five years. He also quotes the mnemonic (ثانى المسجد الحرام) composed by Ashraf Khān which still graces the mosque.

Abu-l-Faḡl, the court chronicler of Akbar, assigns the erection of "a mosque, a college and a Khānqāh upon the hill of Sikri" to Emperor Akbar,² while a passage given in Jahāngīr's Memoirs is by far the most important in this connection as it states that a sum of 5 lakhs of rupees was spent on the mosque from the Royal Treasury.³

Although so beautifully ornamented in the interior, the mosque is plain on the outside and the long stretch of masonry is only broken up by gateways and small window openings. The walls are surmounted by crested battlements.

SHAikh SALīm CHISHTī's Tomb

Shaikh Salim Chishtī's tomb is one of the best pieces of Mughal architecture (Plate X). The beauty of the design coupled with the costliness of material and the tact of its being the burial place of one of the most

¹ *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 109.

² *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 441; cf. also footnote 2, on p. 9 *supra*.

³ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Persian text (Allygarh edition, 1864), p. 262.

revered saints of Akbar's reign have made it one of the best known buildings in India.

Shaikh Salim Chishti was a descendant of Shaikh Faridu-d-Din Ganj-shakar, buried at Pakpattan in the Montgomery district of the Punjab. Akbar first visited him on his return journey to Agra from a successful expedition against the revolted Uzbek nobles in 976 A. H. (1568-69 A. D.).

Shaikh Salim's tomb was built after his death which took place in 979 A. H. (1572 A. D.). It is a small but very attractive building set up entirely in white marble.¹ It stands on an inlaid marble platform, about 59' square and 3' high. On the south side is a portico approached by a flight of steps. Within is a cenotaph chamber surrounded by a verandah closed on the outside by elegant marble screens so rich and delicate in design as to give the effect of lace. The screen is one of the finest specimens of perforated marble work in India, and it is wonderful that such large slabs of marble could be worked up into such fascinating patterns without fracturing² (Frontispiece). The porch

¹ The original structure of the tomb as erected by Nawāb Qutb-uddin Khān Kokaltāsh was of red sandstone entirely faced with white marble with the exception of the dome which was plastered over. It was in about 1866 that by the order and under the supervision of Mr. Mansell, then Collector of Agra, the dome was veneered on the outside with white marble. The cost was met from the Dargāh Fund.

² Nawāb Qutbuddin Khān Kokaltāsh covered the Saint's cenotaph with marble and surrounded it with the beautiful marble screen, vide *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Persian text (Allygarh edition, 1864), p. 262. Its *tārīkh* (chronogram) was found in the words "جنت ثانی" (Duplicate of Paradise), 1014 A. H. (1605-06 A.D.) occurring in the couplet—

ساخت از مرمرش بنا بانی گفت تاریخ جنت ثانی

doors are of ebony inlaid with brass. The building rises considerably above the roof of the verandahs which is only about 12' 6" high.

To a height of about 3' 9" the interior walls are lined with white marble; at this point occurs a dado, the walls above being wainscotted with red sandstone finished off in cement to imitate marble. The whole interior is elaborately decorated in colour and the painted ornamentation on the sides of the windows is a good example of oriental decoration. The colours are rich and bright and produce a very charming effect in the sombre light of the chamber. The paintings on the inner walls were restored in 1836 by the order of the then Collector of Agra, but the colours and details were not properly reproduced. The floor of the chamber and a portion of that of the porch is inlaid in beautiful mosaics in marbles brought from Jesalmere and Alwar. From the wooden beams which support the canopy over the cenotaph once hung four ostrich eggs presented (it is traditionally believed) by an East Indian, or, as others think, by a Greek, merchant residing in Agra, who wished to please the attendant *maulavis*¹. But they no longer decorate the cenotaph.

Shaikh Salim Chishti rests, according to the tradition, in earth brought from Mecca in a closed crypt exactly beneath the marble cenotaph. This latter is always covered by a *pall*², and a wooden canopy supported on slender octagonal pillars inlaid with fine mother-of-pearl work protects it. The inlay work

¹ *Mughal Architecture*, Pt. III, p. 22.

² The *Pall* is taken off every year on the night of the 20th of *Ramazan*, the Muhammadan month of fasting, when the cenotaph is washed with rose water.

on the bases of the columns supporting the canopy is extremely exquisite and looks like damask-work. The small pieces of mother-of-pearl and ebony are secured to the wooden framing by shellac and brass pins. Their brilliant iridescence looks very pretty in the sombre light of the chamber¹.

Three windows filled in with pierced geometrical tracery light the shrine. Hanging on the bars of these windows are bits of thread and shreds of cloth tied there by brides and barren women, both Hindū and Muhammadan, as tokens of the vow that, if blessed with an offspring through Shaikh Salim's intercessions, they will present an offering to the shrine.

The exterior walls of the chamber are broken up by pilasters and panels inscribed in embossed gilded characters with verses from the *Qurān*. The gilding of some of these was renovated by the Archaeological Department in 1900-01. In one of these, on the south, 988 A. H. (1580-81 A. D.) is recorded which probably refers to the date of the erection of the mausoleum.

A portion of the north-east corner of the marble verandah around the chamber is enclosed by a mosaic border to mark, it is said, the spot where Shaikh Salim used to perform his devotions before the erection of the mausoleum. It is held sacred and nobody can sit here except the *Sajjāda-nashīn* who sits enthroned at

¹ Out of the annual revenue attached to Shaikh Salim Chishti's tomb, Rs. 500 are set aside for repairs to the shrine every year. The mother-of-pearl work had fallen out in many places and the work of restoring it was taken up in 1905 and finished in about two years at a cost of nearly 12,000 rupees. One of the wooden pillars which had badly decayed was taken off and a new one was fixed in its place. The old piece has been placed in the Taj Museum at Agra.

this place during the 'Urs, or the anniversary of the Saint's demise, commencing on the 20th of Ramazān when thousands of people from distant parts come to offer their respects to the departed Saint. Some of the massive beams supporting the roof of the verandah were restored in 1905-06. The shutters of the inner doorway are of white marble slabs perforated with geometrical design and painted over in various colours.

Over the head of the door is a gilded Persian inscription in *Naskh* characters recording the praises of Shaikh Salim Chishtī and his death in 979 A. H. (1572 A. D.).

The architraves around the porch door are artistically covered with scrolls and appropriate texts from the *Qurān*.

The porch is of the same height as the façades. The fantastical serpentine struts supporting the eaves round the top of the porch and the façades of the Saint's tomb have been copied from those in a crude form in the Stone-cutters' Mosque (further described, pp. 71-72). Architecturally weak as they are, they would have been most vehemently criticized if in sandstone, and entirely ignored as unworthy of any attention. Each strut is out of one solid piece of marble and it would appear, however, that the architect was sensible of their weakness and therefore strengthened them by stays spanning the concavities of the curves (Frontispiece). The interspaces between the curves of the struts and the stays have been filled in with exquisitely carved tracery for the sake of ornamentation and

diverting the attention of the critic from their constructive defects to their decorative beauty. The tracery is mostly of geometrical design, but in some cases floral patterns have also been introduced, a sign that flowing tracery was coming into vogue in the latter part of the 16th century. The columns are hollowed out inside to carry rain water off the roof into the large tank beneath the pavement of the *Masjid* quadrangle.

The *BIRKHA*

This reservoir is known as the *Birkha* (بركه). According to Emperor Jahāngīr, it was filled with rain water which, on account of scarcity of water in Fatehpur Sikri, was used by those who paid a visit to the shrine or came to offer prayers in the Jāmi' Masjid*.

ISLĀM KHĀN'S TOMB

Close by, on the east, is a plainer but much larger mausoleum built in red sandstone. This is the tomb of Nawāb Islām Khān. He was a grandson of Shaikh Salim Chishtī and acted for sometime as the Governor of Bengal in the reign of Jahāngīr. He married Ladli Begam, sister of the famous 'Allāmi Abu-I-Fazl, and died in 1022 A. H. (1613 A. D.). In the centre of the mausoleum is a large domed chamber surrounded by a verandah full of graves. The outer sides of the verandah are filled in with stone screens, and over the west side several burial chambers have been made by placing lateral screens across it. Of them the finest is to be seen on the south-west angle of the tomb and contains two white marble CENOTAPHS OF SHAIKH HĀJĪ

* *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Persian text (Allygarh edition, 1864), p. 262.

HUSAIN, KHALĪFA of the Saint, and SHAIKH MUNNŪ, his brother.

Above the lintel of the door leading to the chamber is a Persian inscription in *Nasta'liq* letters recording that Shaikh Hāji Husain, the leader of pilgrims, who always availed himself of *Haj* and '*Umra*', died in 1000 A. H. (1591 A. D.) and the date of his death was found in. بهر طواف کعبه مقصود شد بجان (To go round the wished-for *Ka'ba* he went with his soul). Other chambers contain the TOMBS OF NAWĀB MUKARRAM KHĀN AND NAWĀB MUHTASHAM KHĀN. They were respectively grandson and brother of Islām Khān and held the Governorship of different provinces under the Emperor Jahāngir.

The large domed chamber containing Nawāb Islām Khān's grave is square on the outside but octagonal inside, and the cupola covering the chamber rests on 32 sides. Islām Khān's sarcophagus is in the north-west corner of the chamber and around it are 32 other graves of male members of the family. The Nawāb's tomb, canopied by a wooden frame supported on pillars, is ornamented with geometrical devices, flowers in gold, etc.

The entrance door to the chamber is very interesting, being of stone in two monolithic leaves, the styles and rails of which are inlaid with encaustic tiling (now much decayed) arranged in circles and semi-circles. It is one of the very few original doors now left in Fatehpur Sikri.

* *Umra*, or lesser pilgrimage, is the ceremony of going to a place called *Tanīm*, for prayer and then coming back to Mecca.

The tomb stands on a raised *chabūtra*, the façades are divided into seven bays each, five of which are closed at the top by lintels carried on brackets and capitals and two by arches. The tomb is provided with a battle mented parapet and a deep *chhajja* resting on brackets. It has a series of kiosks on each façade which impart a picturesqueness to the building. To the west of Islām Khān's sarcophagus, in the same block, we see the tombs of his near relations Shaikh 'Abdu-s-Samad, better known as Nawāb Mukarram Khān (who died in 1036 A. H. or 1626-27 A. D.) and Shaikh Qāsim, better known as Nawāb Muhtasham Khān (who died in 1044 A. H. or 1634-35 A. D.), the former being his grandson and the latter his younger brother*.

Flanking the northern wall of the Dargāh quadrangle, between the tombs of Shaikh Salīm and Nawāb Islām Khān, is the ZANĀNA RAUZA, or burial place of the ladies of the Saint's family. It is formed by closing the cloisters with geometrical screens and is entered by a doorway inlaid with marble and blue encaustic tiles now much decayed. It contains the remains of Bibī Hajyānī, the Saint's wife, and of many other ladies of his family; but there is not much of interest to see within.

The grave-yard seen to the right of Islām Khān's tomb contains the graves of members of the Saint's family.

* The date of Nawāb Mukarram Khān's death was found in the words '*Shifā-un-wa-Rahmat*', i.e. (spiritual) cure and (divine) blessings (1036 A. H.); while that of Nawāb Muhtasham Khān in the last verse '*Bazurg-i-Zamāna zi 'ālam safar kard*' (i.e., the august person of the age passed away from this world (1044 A. H.)).

Adjacent to the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti and to the west of it is a marble tomb assigned to BIBI ZAINAB, a grand-daughter of Hazrat Shaikh Salim. The tombstone is of marble and bears an historical epigraph containing her name.

At the south-west corner of the Dargāh quadrangle a small doorway leads to the back of the Jāmi' Masjid, and as the visitor passes out by this door he will find to the left of the doorway a small chapel where the descendants of the Saint are allowed to place their dead for certain preliminary funeral services before carrying it into the quadrangle of the Mosque for burial. Close by, on the right, is a grave-yard where a child's tomb covered by a small concave roof is generally shown by the guides.

TOMB OF BĀLE MIĀN

Local tradition asserts that Hazrat Shaikh Salim Chishti had a baby, named Bāle Miān, aged 6 months. One day he saw his father buried in deep reflection after a visit from Akbar and asked him why he sent away the Emperor in despair. The holy man calmly answered that the Emperor's request for a son who might succeed him could not be granted as all his children were fated to die in infancy unless some one gave his own instead. At this the child offered his own life and was found dead shortly afterwards.

Leaving the grave of this miraculous child the visitor should see the Stone-cutters' Mosque, a little to the west of it.

STONE-CUTTER'S MOSQUE

The Stone-cutters' Mosque, a small unpretentious building, was erected, according to a tradition, by the

poor stone-cutters of Sikri for their patron saint, Shaikh Salim Chishtī, who had obtained great celebrity on account of his severe austerities, and thus to pray with him. But an incomplete Persian manuscript said to have been written by Shaikh Zakīu-d-Dīn, a descendant of the Saint, assigns its construction to the Saint himself in 945 A. H. (1538-39 A. D.). This view may be relied upon as there is nothing in contemporary records to question its propriety. According to the same authority the *Masjid* stands on the natural cave wherein the Saint lived a hermit's life when the site of Fatehpur as yet uninhabited was infested with wild beasts.

On the north-west side of the court is a stone platform on which, according to tradition, Shaikh Salim used to take his seat to instruct the people in the tenets of Islām. The sanctuary is divided by columns into 9 bays, two of which on the north side are blocked up and formed into a room covering the cave in which the Saint is said to have lived before the erection of the mosque. The chamber which is quite plain within is held in great reverence by the local Muslims.

The central *mīhrāb* of the mosque is elaborately carved and over the columns in front of the façade are situated the curious-shaped serpentine brackets which probably served as a model for those used in Shaikh Salim's tomb.

RANG MAHAL

The Rang Mahal was built by Akbar for his Rājput wife, Maryam Zamānī, who being pregnant with Prince Salim (afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr) was sent from Agra to live near the Saint whose prayers were solicited by the childless Emperor in order that he might

have an heir to the throne. It was in this palace that Prince Salīm was born on the 30th August, 1569, and Prince Murād on the 7th June, 1570*. It is a stately building entered by a large gateway to the south-east of the Stone-cutters' Mosque. It has been much altered now and the greater part of the stones of its walls, etc., are said to have been sold by those who occupied the house before the Government of the United Provinces resolved to take it into their own hands and purchased the house for Rs. 1,150 in 1907. Steps have since been taken to preserve the building and save it from further decay, but the parts already destroyed or sold could not be restored. The house, when complete with all its parts and ornamentations, must have been exceedingly pretty. At present it consists of a small court, on the east and west sides of which are corridors with high roofs carried on pillars and on the north and south sides double-storied chambers and living rooms. The rooms at the north-west and south-east corners were crowned by pavilions carried on pillars. The south-east pavilion has entirely disappeared but the one on the south-west, defaced by smoke and clay plastering, is still intact.

The bases and capitals of the columns supporting the roofs of the *dālāns* bear elaborate carvings and the brackets supporting the eaves are very elegant.

HAKĪM-KĀ-ḤAMMĀM (Doctor's Bath)

To the south-east of the Turkish Sultāna's Bath are the baths, locally known as the Hākīm's Baths,

* *Maāthiru-l-Umarā*, Persian text, Vol. II, p. 571.

in the ravine below. Although the former ranks among the best *hamnāms* of the Mughal period, it is really altogether eclipsed by the latter which in fact reminds one of the *Thermae* of the Greeks and Romans* if one forgets for a moment their architectural splendour and magnitude.

Although called *Hakim's baths* and traditionally known as those erected for public use, they might have been used by the Emperor and his courtiers. The exterior is extremely plain and severe, being constructed of rubble masonry coated with rough stucco on the outside. The walls are built with a batter and doors and windows are conspicuous. The best way to the main entrance is *via* the inclined pathway by a large tank, known as the *SHIRĪN TĀL*, or Sweet Tank, near the *Daftar-Khāna*.

Adjoining the entrance is a chamber, cruciform in shape and probably used as a Dressing Room. It is covered with slabs of red sandstone overlaid with concrete carried on heavy brackets. The roof over the upper chamber is domed in radiating courses of brickwork supported on arched pendentives. The arched panels above the springing of the dome and the soffits of the archways spanning the front of the four arms of the room are ornamented with geometrical patterns in red and white colour and the dado bears traces of its original decoration in polished red stucco. Light was originally admitted into the chamber through an

* Since some of the diseases were cured by the *hakims* by pouring warm water mixed with necessary medicines over their patients, or by simply making them perspire with the peculiar heat and steam of the baths, the baths where such treatments were undertaken may justly be called the *Thermae* of the Indians.

ocil-de-boeuf in the top of the dome, but several window openings having been cut in the walls of the archways supporting the dome, the chamber is now well lighted.

The visitor must now go by a narrow passage running round the Dressing Room to a chamber in the centre of which will be observed an octagonal bath (4' 2" deep and 7' 6" in diameter) which may have served as the *Frigidarium* of the Roman Bath. Like the Dressing Room the chamber is cruciform in plan and from here passages branch out to five other large chambers besides three smaller ones. They are all covered by domes provided with circular or octagonal lights in the centre. The central apartment is most elaborately decorated with arabesque and floral devices cut in plaster. The water tanks within the walls were supplied from a well, cut out in solid rock on the north of the bath, by means of glazed earthen pipes built into the walls.

DAFTAR-KHĀNA (Record Office)

The Daftar-Khāna, or Record Chamber, situated in front of the Khawābgāh on the south, is said to be Akbar's office. It resembles one of Akbar's buildings at Allahabad and consists of one room, 36' 6" × 19' inside, surrounded by a verandah, 18' 5" wide, supported on double pillars. The walls varying from 4' to 5' in thickness are cut up by numerous recesses which may have served for storing records, etc. A balcony supported on columns and stone corbels overlooks the picturesque country below.

Mulla 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badāyūni has mentioned the erection of a *Maktab Khāna* (writing chamber) at

Fatehpur Sikri* where Sanskrit, Arabic and Greek works were translated by the most learned persons of Akbar's court. 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badāyūnī, Shaikh Faizī, Mukammal Khān Gujerātī, Mullā Sherī, Kishan Jotshī, Ganga Dhar, Mahesh, and Mahā Nanda were the most efficient and highly expert translators. Eminent calligraphists and painters were also employed for beautifying the books with proper illustrations. It is probable that the Daftar Khāna we see at present is the same *Maktab Khāna* described by Badāyūnī, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that Emperor Akbar used this for *Darshan*, i.e., showing himself to the public from its balcony on the south.

The monument was used as a Dak Bungalow for some time until a new building was erected for that purpose near the so-called *Taksāl* or Mint (*vide* pp. 6 and 7 *supra*).

Amongst numerous other buildings of lesser importance there are three worth mentioning at least owing to their historical associations, viz., Rāja Todar Mal's *Bāradarī* and the Mosque and Tomb of Bahāu-d-Dīn.

BĀRADARĪ OF RĀJA TODAR MAL

About 2 or 3 furlongs south of the *bazār* road of Fatehpur Sikri and between the Gwalior and Tehra Gates is a half-ruined building, called the *Bāradarī* of Rāja Todar Mal. Todar Mal was a Khattri, born at Laharpur in Oudh. He was first appointed as an ordinary *Munshī*, but was soon promoted to the high rank

* *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, Persian text (Calcutta edition, 1865), Vol. II, pp. 320-1 and 344.

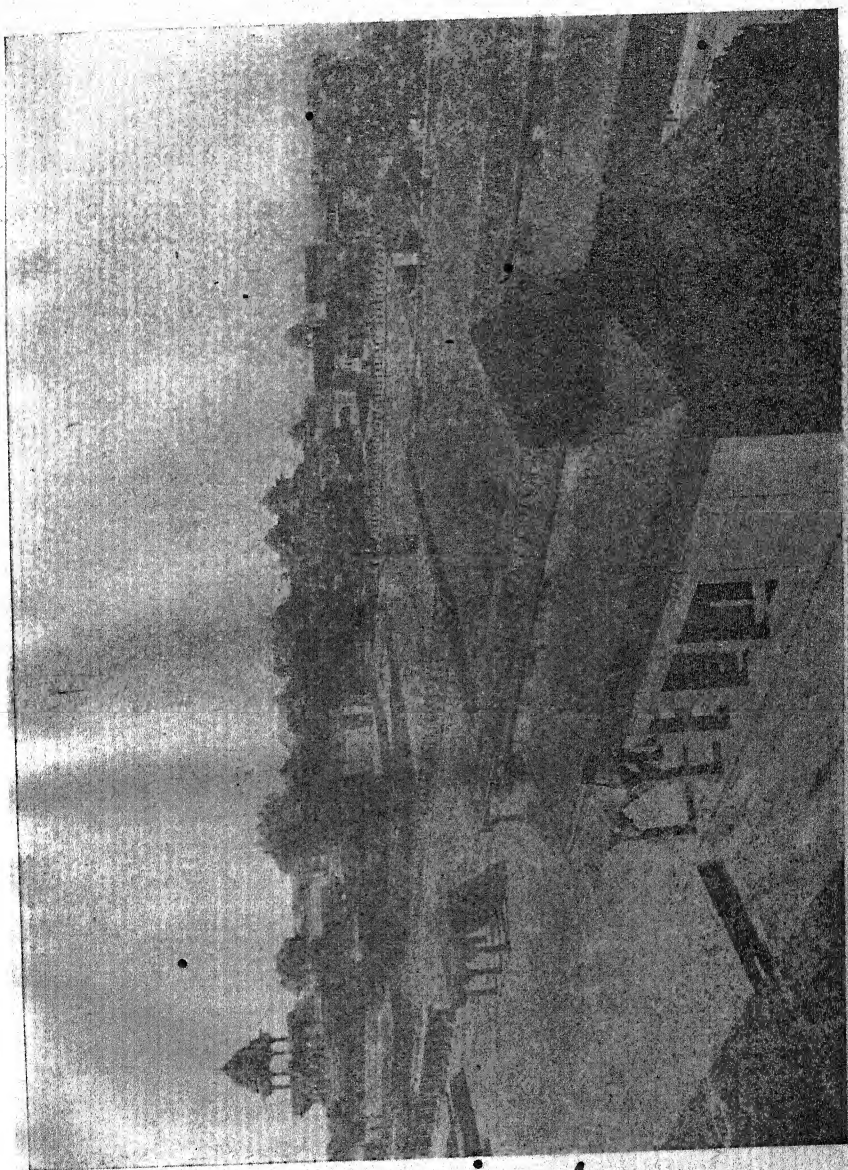
of *Diwān-i-Kul*, or Revenue Minister of the Empire, on account of his industrious ways and abilities. He distinguished himself in military campaigns as well and was chiefly responsible for making most of the revenue laws of Akbar. He died in 977 A. H. (1588 A. D.) at Lahore. He is said to have invited Akbar to a feast at his own house in 990 A. H. (1582 A. D.) and the festivities, as the author of the *Āthār-i-Akbarī* remarks, might have been held in the same *Bāradarī*.

The building consists of an octagonal room in the centre covered by a dome-shaped vault and pierced with 8 doors, 4 big and 4 small, one in each side of the octagon. In the sides of the bigger doors are sockets for the shutters to slide back into them when opened, and in front of them is a verandah supported on sparingly carved columns, surmounted with beautiful brackets which carried the *chhajja*. Only a few brackets exist now, the rest have disappeared. The smaller doors open into side chambers connecting the verandah all round. In places the building was originally painted with geometrical designs but very few traces now exist. Two staircases lead to the second storey. A vast piece of ground lying round the *Bāradarī* shows that a GARDEN was formerly attached to the building ; and the pathways can still be traced.

MOSQUE AND TOMB OF BAHĀU-D-DĪN

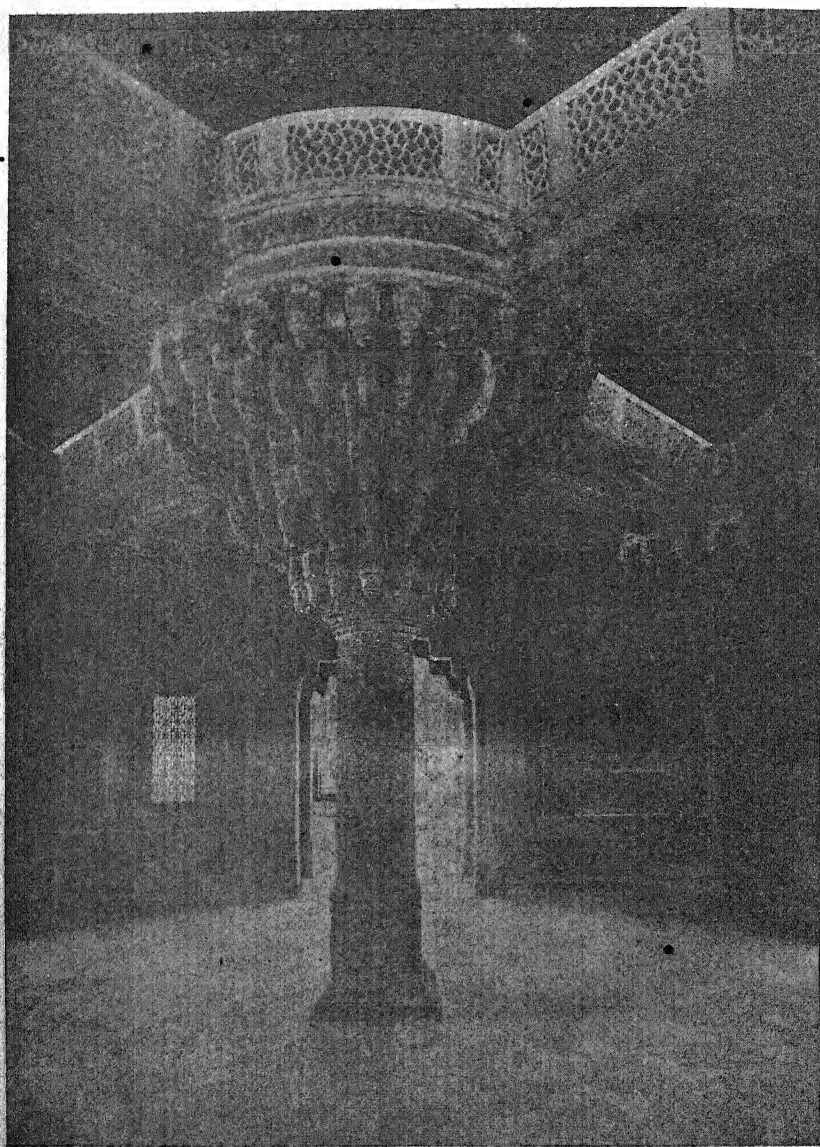
Just outside the Tehra Darwāza are the Mosque and Tomb of Bahāu-d-Dīn, a famous lime manufacturer of the reign of Jahāngīr. They bear historical epigraphs in Persian verse assigning their erection to Bahāu-d-Dīn in his lifetime in 1019 A. H. (1610-11 A. D.). The

stone screens at the north and south ends of the Mosque are of unusual design and the pillars and brackets used in it are all carved. Adjoining the Mosque is the shrine, about 21 feet square, with a verandah all round. It is enclosed by a stone railing, about 5 feet high. Each verandah is divided into five unequal bays by carved columns and the lattice screens used in this tomb are fairly similar in design to those in the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti. The domed mortuary chamber contains two white marble graves, one of which is assigned to Bahāu-d-Dīn and the other to his wife.

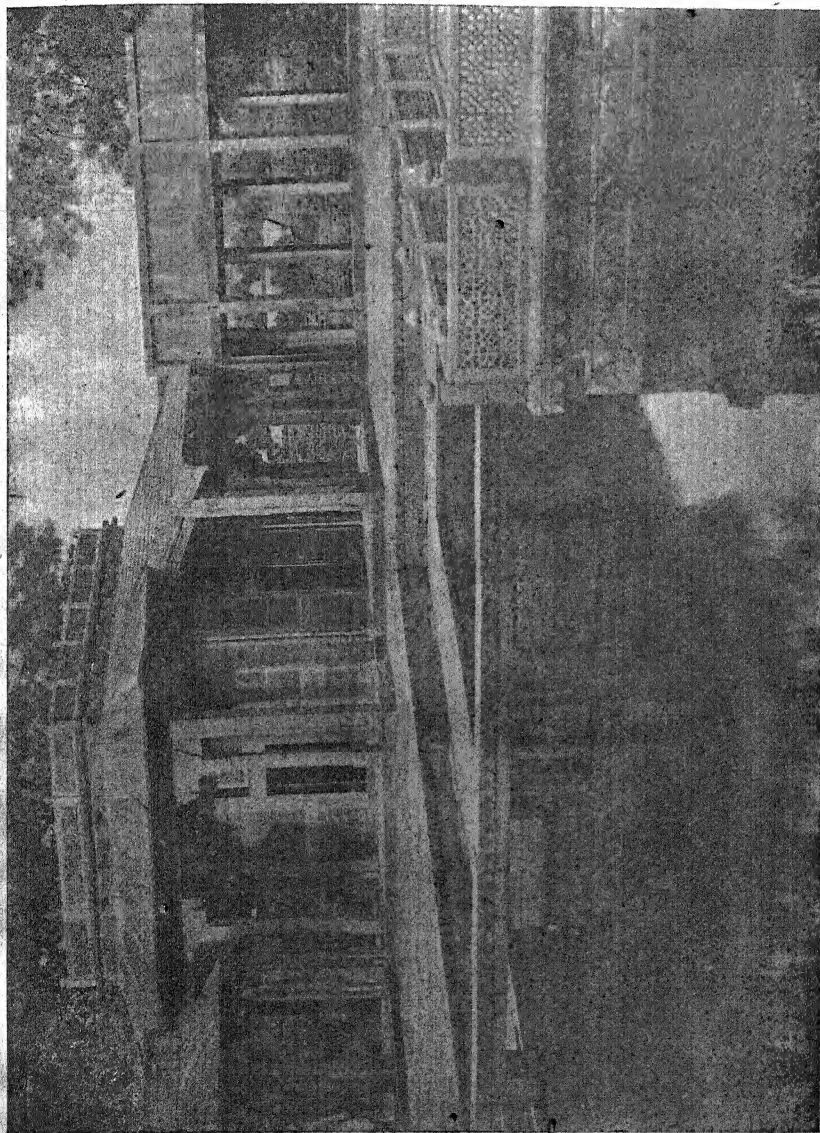


Fatehpur Sikri. General view of ancient buildings from top of Diwan-i-Khas

PLATE II

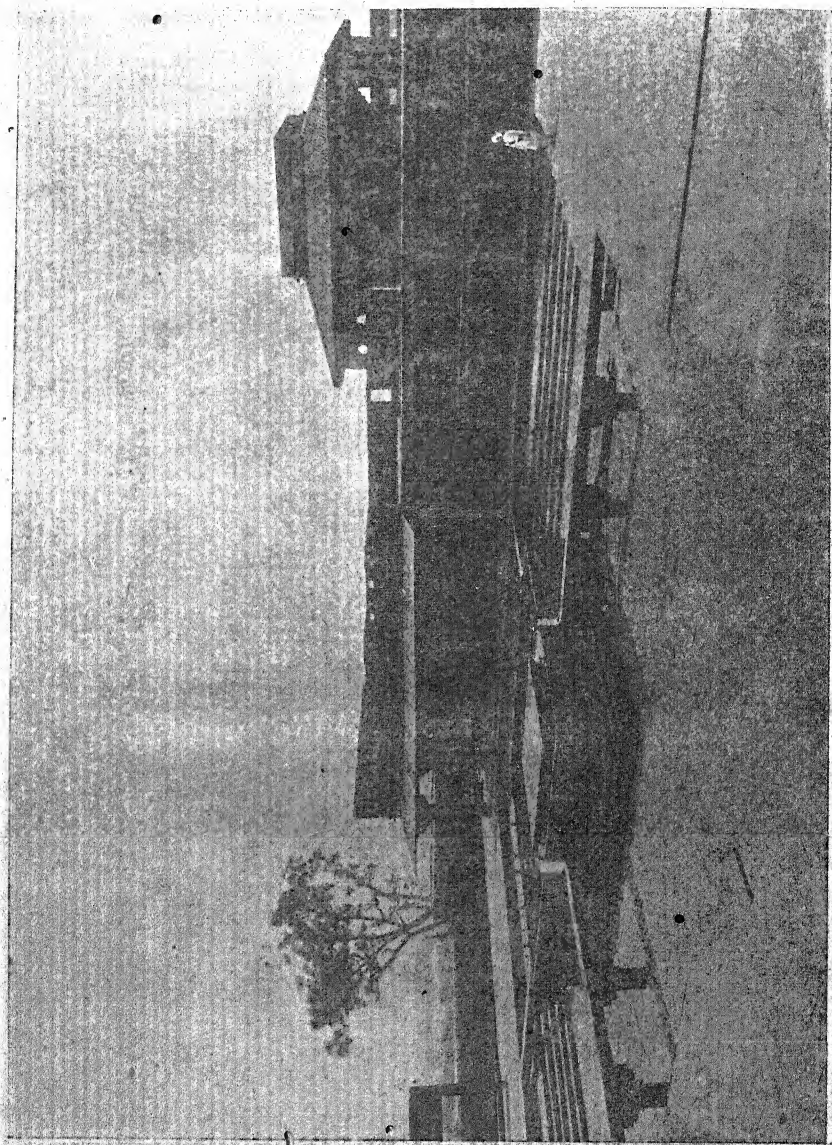


Diwan-i-Khas. Interior view

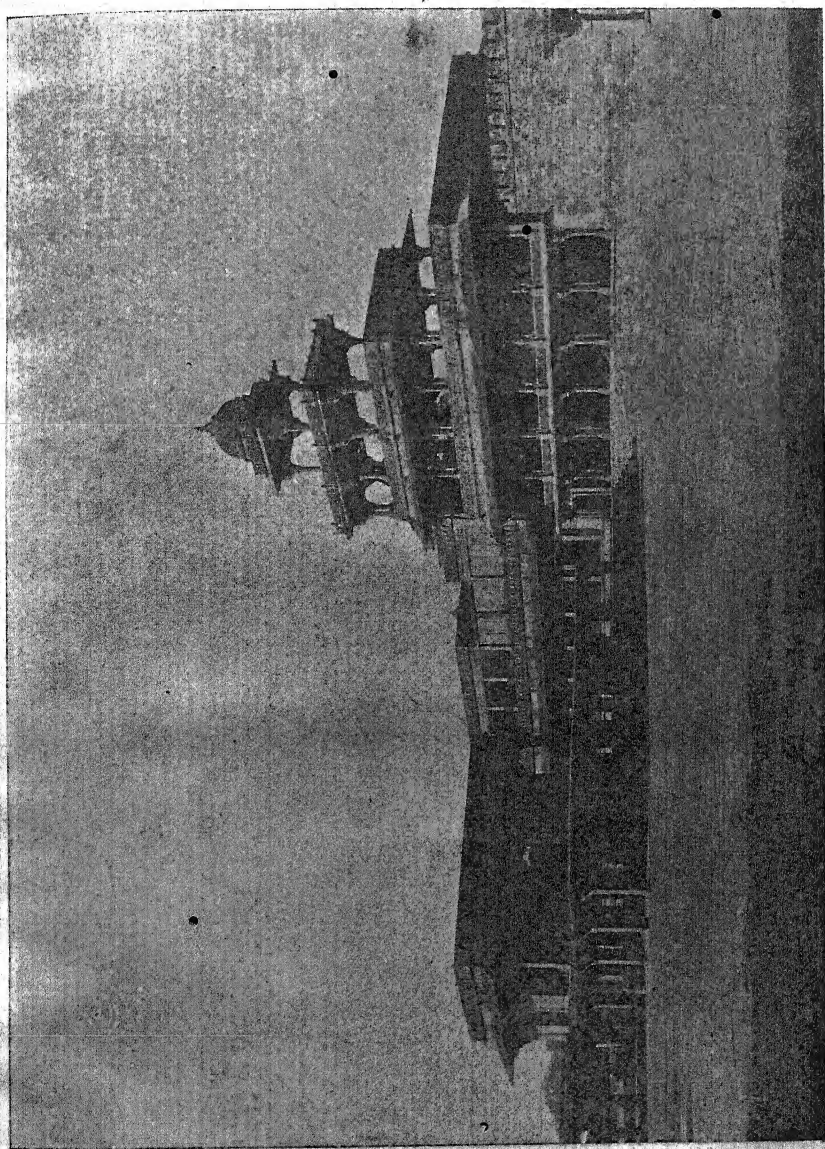


Turkish Sultana's House. View from south-west

PLATE IV

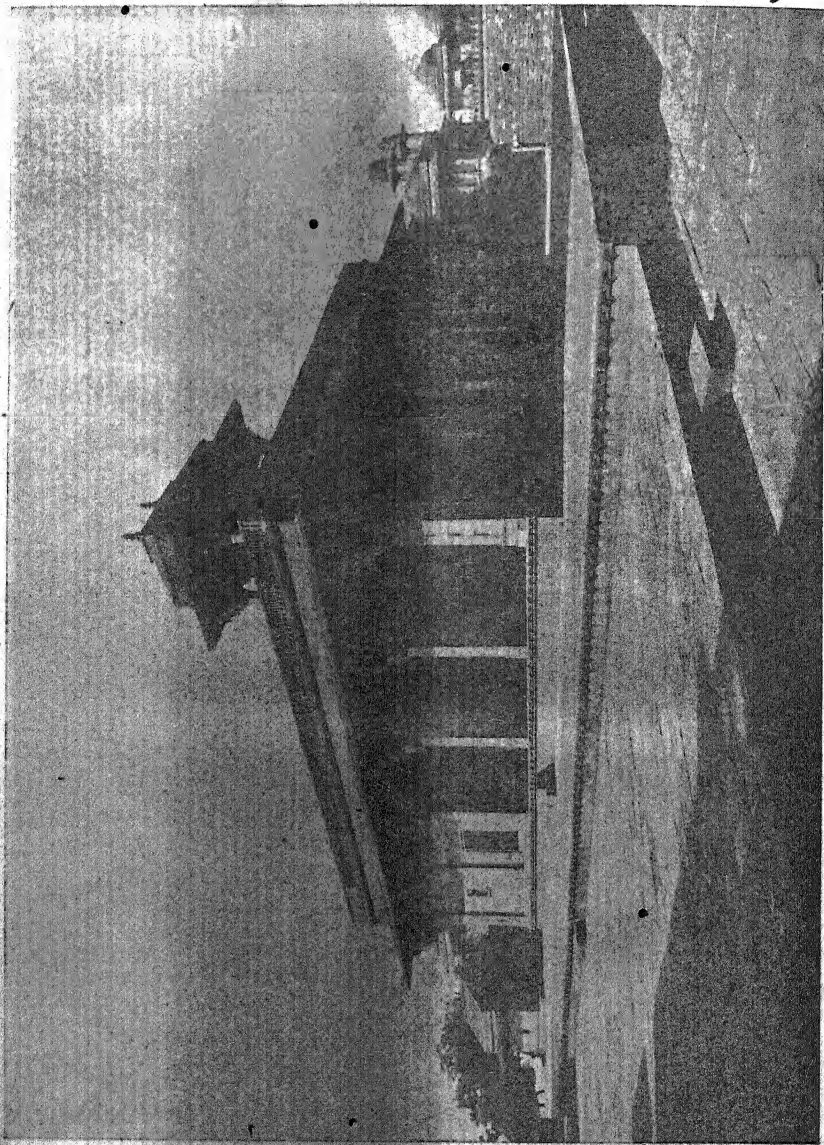


Khwabgah. General view showing also the tank in front, from north

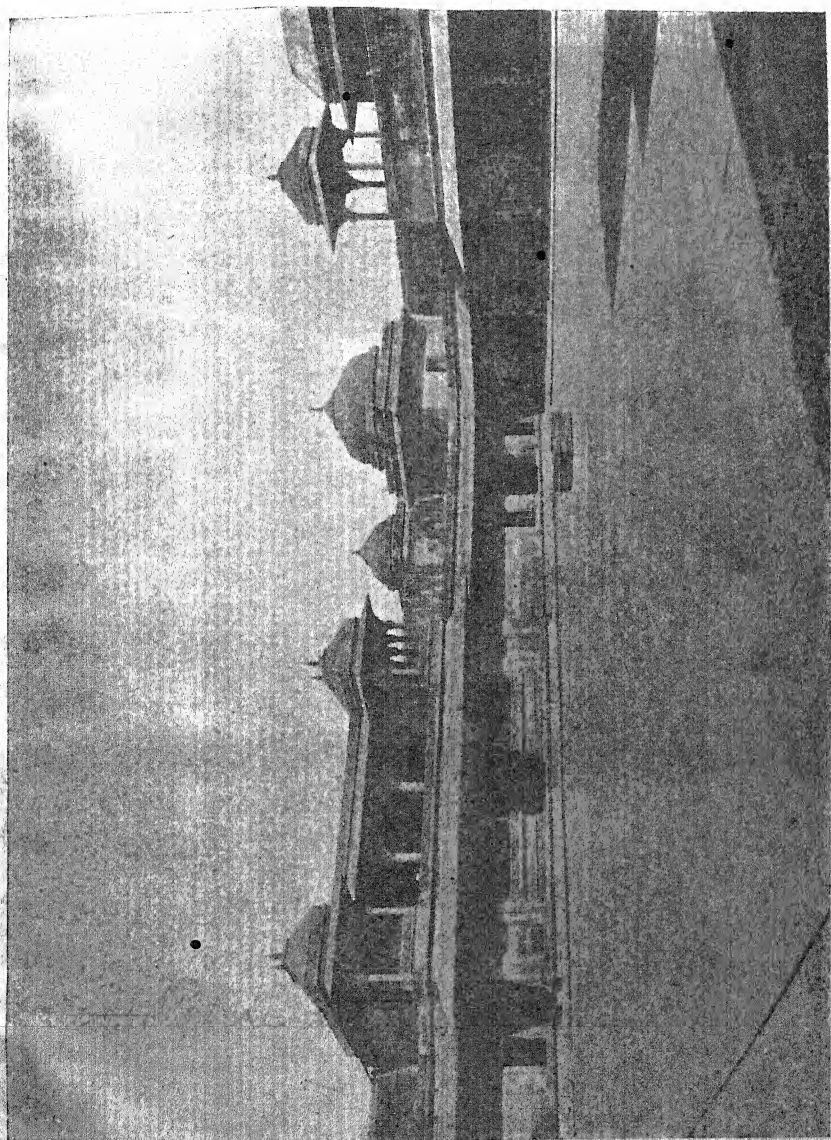


Panch Mahal. General view, from north-east

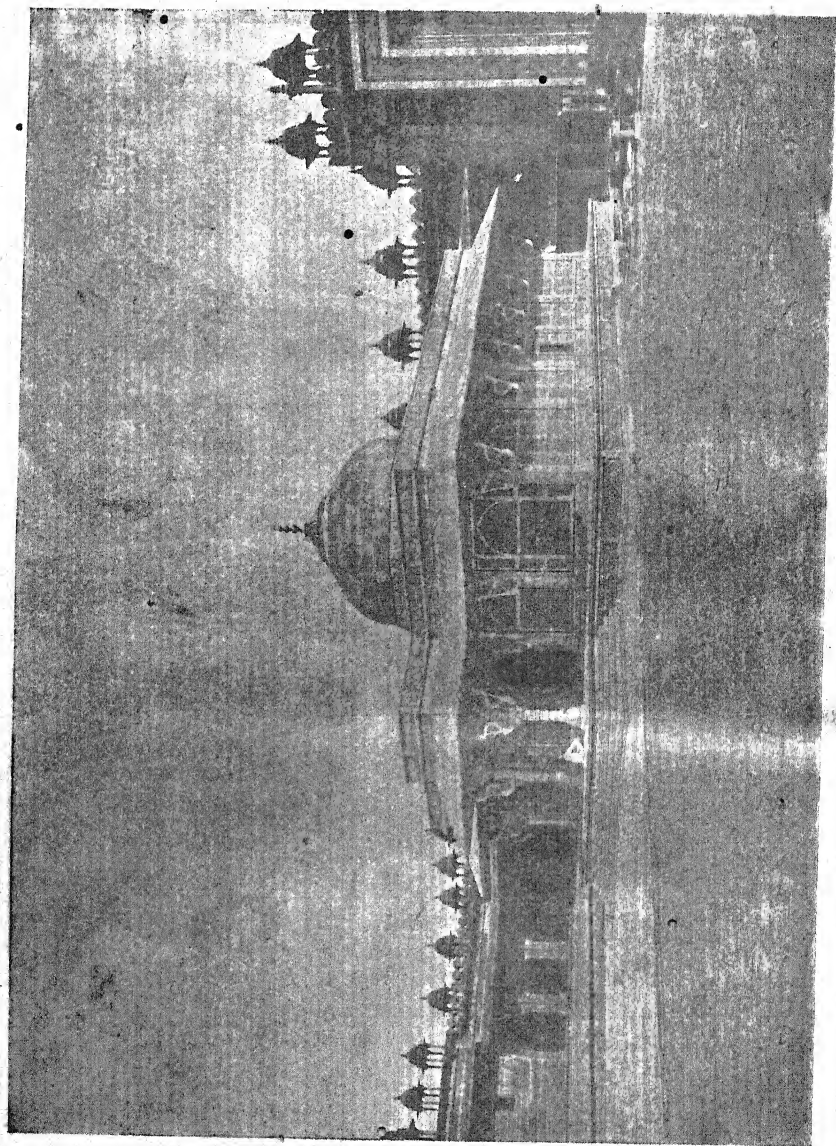
PLATE VI



Maryam's House. General view, from north-east



Jodh Bai's Palace. Interior view, from south-east



Dargah. View showing Shaikh Salim Chishtī's tomb, from south-east